# Routes to tour in Germany

# The German Wine Route

Monsheim

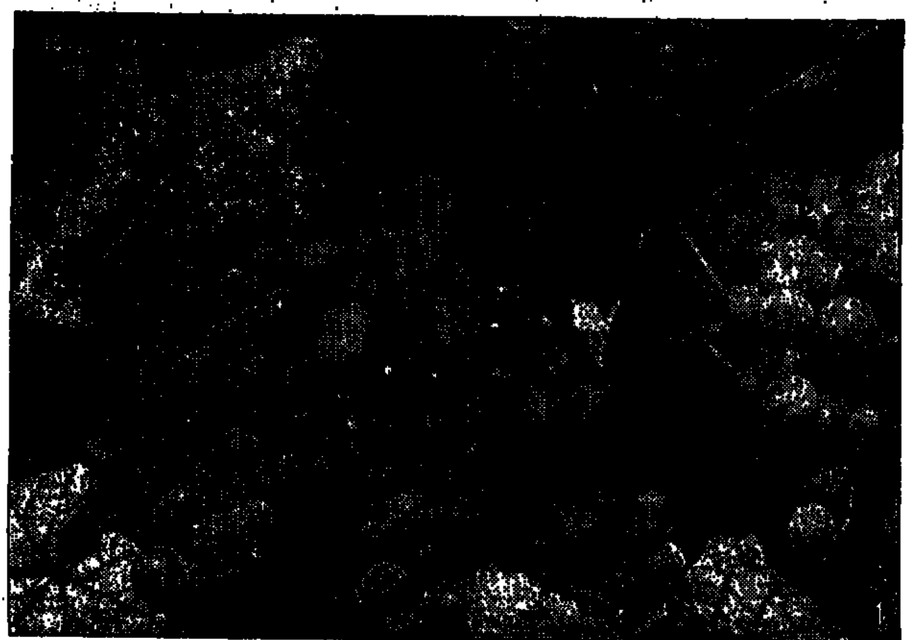
Bad Dürkheim

Neustadt

Edenkoben

Bad Bergzabern

Schweigen



German roads will get you there – to the Palatinate woods, for instance, where 2,000 years ago Roman legionaries were already growing wine. Each vine yields up to three litres of various kinds of wine, such as Riesling, Sylvaner, Müller-Thurgau, Scheurebe or Gewürztraminer. Grapes are gathered in the autumn but the season never ends. Palatinate people are always ready to throw a party, and wine always holds pride of place, generating *Gemütlichkeit* and good cheer. As at the annual Bad Dürkheim Wurstmarkt, or sausage market, the Deidesheim goat auction and the election of the German Wine Queen in Neustadt. Stay the night in wine-growing villages, taste the wines and become a connoisseur.

Visit Germany and let the Wine Route be your guide.

1 Grapes on the vine
2 Dorrenbach
3 St Martin
4 Deidesheim
5 Wachenheim

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# The German Tribune

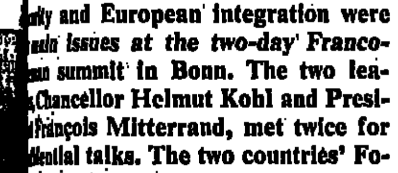
…burg, 31 October 1982
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# Security and Europe dominate Kohl-Mitterrand agenda



**…ity and European integration were …ain issues at the two-day Franco-…an summit in Bonn. The two lea-… Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Presi-… François Mitterrand, met twice for …ential talks. The two countries' Foreign, Defence, Economic Affairs, Finance, *Labour and Research Ministers also* met. Topics ranged from bilateral cooperation and new concepts in security policy to East-West ties and the European Community.**

…issue of French nuclear weapons …ill not be discussed at the Geneva …s talks. This was agreed between …ellor Kohl and President Mitter-… in Bonn.

…was one topic where Bonn and Paris have disagreed in the past: Chancellor Schmidt had insisted that the French nuclear deterrent be included in the talks.

The inclusion of security policy on the agenda added a special note to this 40th round of Franco-German consultations.

It was, for one, a note of continuity, since Herr Schmidt and M. Mitterrand had agreed on the addition, although the public effect is likely to be greater than the practical significance.

Bonn is naturally interested in persuading paris to cooperate more closely *with Nato's military set-up. But* a French return to the full Nato fold is way beyond anything one might realistically expect.

Bonn is also keenly interested in learning how the French plan to deploy their Pluto tactical missiles which have a range of scarcely 100 kilometres.

From their launching pads in eastern France the missiles have a range that would take them no further than Baden-Württemberg or, at most, Hesse.

Information on what France has in mind is all Bonn envisages. Paris has never accepted any interference in its nuclear planning and Bonn has no intention of influencing the deployment of France's nuclear deterrent.

France is interested in collaboration because it might help to cut the cost of conventional arms, which Paris can barely afford once it has paid its enormous nuclear bills.

But Bonn, too, is short of cash, so there are limits to the extent to which Defence Minister Manfred Wörner can go.

He has no funds available for projects such as the joint battle tank the benefit of which must be seen more on the political plane than in practical benefit for the Bundeswehr.

Much though Bonn may welcome regular consultations on security policy, it is well appreciated that there is a risk of other friendly countries misunderstanding this hobnobbing between Paris and Bonn.

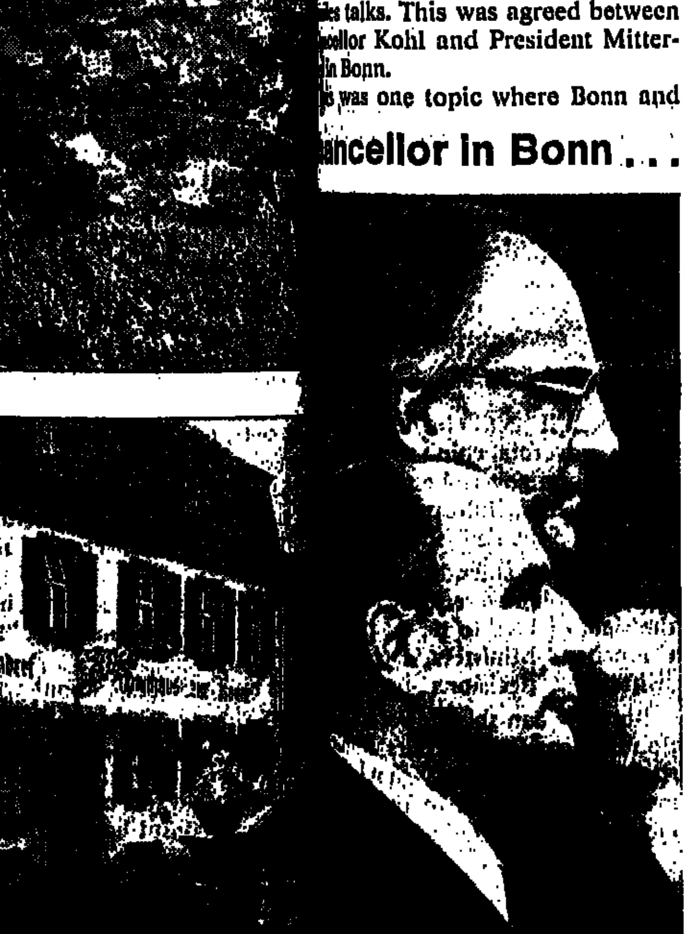
Attempts are being made to forestall any such misunderstandings. Herr Wörner has noted more than once as Defence Minister that there must be no impression of France and Germany *wanting to* dictate security policy to other Nato countries in Europe.

Chancellor Kohl has made much the same point in saying that in security policy there can be no mutually exclusive choice between France or the United States. Bonn relies on both as allies. The Federal Republic of Germany's security depends on the United States, and Franco-German cooperation in military matters must not be allowed to convey the impression that Bonn has forgotten the fact.

*Volker Jacobs*

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 23 October 1982)

## …ancellor in Bonn …



…ellor Kohl in Bonn with President …rand. (Photo: dpa)

## … and Chancellor in London

Chancellor Kohl in London with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. (Photo: dpa)

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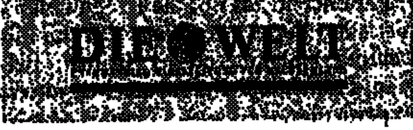

# Exchange of views with Mrs Thatcher at Downing Street

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl did not spend their time settling specific problems and announcing solutions when they met for the first time, in London.

They were more concerned about sounding out points of view and aims. As a result, both are clearer about where they stand. That will be useful when the Bonn round of British-German talks takes place.

It is too early to say whether Mrs Thatcher and Herr Kohl have hit it off personally, but we can be sure their relationship is not as cool and formal as it seemed on the steps of No. 10.

Since the Falklands campaign the





British Prime Ministger has made a point of addressing the nation, the Press and TV from the doorstep of 10, Downing Street.

It is a technique that creates an atmosphere of both detachment and authority, and it gave the Chancellor's visit a more formal and official character than it assumed behind the scenes.

The two leaders attached great importance to stressing points held in common by Britain and Germany.

"We are both worried by the world recession," Mrs Thatcher said, "and we both have similar views on how to cope with it."

Herr Kohl emphasised views shared within the West. "It is important for us Europeans," he said, "to stand our ground as the European column of the Atlantic bridge.

"Differences of opinion with the United States are negligible given the major tasks we must jointly face within the alliance."

In European affairs he stressed joint responsibility for solidarity: "There may be clashes of interest in such a community but they cannot be *allowed* to divert attention from the Community's principal objectives."

One such clash was over steel exports to the United States, which were a major issue discussed during the three hours of talks.

Mrs Thatcher and Herr Kohl were joined by their Foreign Ministers, Francis Pym and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

The Prime Minister afterwards conveyed the impression of not being unhappy about the course the steel talks had taken. Herr Kohl made no mention of the subject in his final declaration.

It was noted attentively in London that Helmut Kohl claimed to represent a post-war German generation that from its youth on had tried hard to bring about a united Europe.

Such deep-seated European idealism

Continued on page 5



## WORLD AFFAIRS

# Banning of Solidarity puts security conference process under pressure

The West has laid down three conditions for a return to normal in ties with Poland: the end of martial law, the release of detainees and the resumption of talks with Solidarity.

Has it possibly set a trap in which it itself will be ensnared?

Martial law may one day be ended. The last detainees, even Lech Walesa, muy be released. But the dialogue between Church, state and Solidarity is unlikely to be resumed now the trade union has been banned.

So the United States wants to step up pressure on Poland when the CSCE review conference reopens in Madrid in November.

The Europeans want to salvage the conference and with it detente, about which the Reagan administration is extremely sceptical.

Thus the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has emerged as a touchstone of Western unity.

Last autumn the prospects of agreement in Madrid were good, with the non-aligned and neutral countries having submitted a compromise proposal for the final document.

Given a few improvements this proposal seemed to provide a sound basis for understanding between East and West.

Substantial results seemed likely, including progress in all CSCE policy sectors, on economic, cultural and humanitarian issues.

Important features relating to the proposed Conference on Disarmament in Europe had also been formulated: confidence-building measures designed to prevent surprise attacks.

But the imposition of martial law in Poland last December put paid to these prospects for the time being.

Nothing came of the next round of negotiations. When the conference was resumed in February the United States refused to negotiate at all.

Poland must first fulfil the West's three demands, which were interpreted much more strictly in Washington than in European capitals.

After five weeks of talks and an acrid debate on Poland in Madrid the conference was adjourned again, this time for nine months.

It was hoped the situation would grow less tense during this period, after which talks were to be resumed without strings with a view to bringing them to a successful conclusion without delay.

The compromise proposal submitted by the non-aligned and neutral countries was to continue as the basis for discussion.

This target could probably be reached fast. Most of the issues at stake were dealt with last year and framed in writing ready for approval.

All the West still wanted to negotiate was a few extra improvements in the exchange of information, a stronger commitment to human rights and greater detail on the terms of reference of disarmament conference decisions.

Moscow and its allies have indicated readiness to compromise, but the ban on Solidarity is a fresh setback so serious that it could mean the end of the CSCE process once and for all.

Thirty-three European states are already a thorn in the flesh of the East-West policy of pressure and punishment drawn up by Mr Reagan's aides.

They particularly upset the applecart of disarmament and arms control talks America would for the time being prefer to hold bilaterally with Russia, concentrating on strategic intermediate-range and intercontinental ballistic missiles.

But the Europeans, including Nato members, non-aligned and neutral countries and even Moscow's allies, demand a say in the course of negotiations.

Western Europe in particular insists on the 1979 Nato resolution to combine disarmament talks combined with the missile modernisation option being fulfilled over the entire weapons range.

This is where the Conference on Disarmament in Europe comes in. The most telling argument in favour of reaching agreement in Madrid is that if the conference were to fail or be postponed indefinitely, the credibility of US negotiations in Europe would be bound to be hit hard.

This particular chicken would come home to roost in autumn 1983 when missile modernisation appeared on the Nato agenda, it is argued.

Bonn, especially the new Bonn government, has every good reason to take up cudgels on behalf of European interests.

The Final Act at Helsinki, sealing the Helsinki accords, is a crucial document on East-West relations as an evolutionary process of cooperation and normalisation.

It opens up the long-term prospect of a peace order in Europe that is, for people in the two German states, the sole prospect so far apparent of a solution to the German Question.

The Helsinki accords make few demands on the West that it does not already meet. The East has much more ground to make good.

Europe has other reasons for not wanting to see the CSCE process founder on endless debates about Poland. From its viewpoint the Helsinki process is:

- an almost inexhaustible political and diplomatic means of pressuring the East to make changes and to establish more evenly balanced relations;
- the first multilateral attempt to arrive, via a wide-ranging agenda, at practical cooperation over and beyond the borders of political systems;
- the basis, as acknowledged by the East, of America's and Canada's right to a say in European affairs;
- a means of including in European cooperation countries that have no other negotiation platform and back the West on all fundamental issues;
- and an encouragement for reform advocates in Eastern Europe who riably base their arguments on the sinki accords.

Only the Helsinki Final Act, wi voluntary commitments by all sig ries, can be adduced to justify massive intervention in a country mestic affairs as was undertake Poland last year.

If the CSCE accords were to be firmed and further developed, claim would be further underpinne would help to improve the atmosp of East-West relations, thereby the position of the Polish people.

If they were to be written off, the viet Union would be given carte b che for uncompromising applicatio the Brezhnev Doctrine throughou sphere of influence.

The 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion Czechoslovakia was based on Brezhnev Doctrine.

Yet the United States regards CSCE process as part of a failed de te policy and fails to appreciate its namic force and the changes it has ready brought about.

In the Reagan administration's the Helsinki process is merely a bid Moscow to have the status quo in Eu pe acknowledged as final and bindin

This bid failed in the negotiati leading up to the August 1975 Hels conference, and no-one need keep on Poland when the Helsinki re conference is resumed in Madrid month.

What is more, there is no reason the West should forgo putting such effective political instrument as CSCE process to good use.

*Wolf J. B*

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 21 October

# Peace breaks out in The Steel War

The steel war between Europe and America has finally ended. Brussels and Washington have signed an agreement.

But the deal was marked by a loss of credit by Bonn because of the way it held out until the very last minute in an effort to gain the maximum advantage for German steel manufacturers.

It was the first time that the new Bonn government has had a real clash with the other EEC countries.

No-one could expect Bonn to have everything worked out and running smoothly yet. The old government had no clear ideas on Europe; the new one seems to have none either.

The steel dispute between Europe and America presents an opportunity of analysing a number of Bonn's weaker points.

For fundamental reasons of security policy there was keen interest in reaching agreement on steel to settle at least one of the many disputes between the two.

For once it was not the Reagan administration that was to blame for the difficulties encountered by British, Belgian, French and Italian steel exporters in particular.

The US steel industry merely made use of existing American legislation to ward off some of its competitors.

Bonn's security policy interests ran counter to the Lambsdorff doctrine of preventing wherever possible any hindrance to free trade.

What was more, steelmakers on the Rhine and in the Ruhr felt they were sitting pretty, having managed without government subsidies so far and thus not being liable to punitive US government levies.

The result was an inappropriately snooty attitude toward the British, Belgians, French and Italians along the lines of "they have only themselves to blame for the US levies."

It was inappropriate because jobs can only be saved by government subsidies in the Saar, on the payroll of the future Ruhrstahl AG and at the once-proud engineering giant AEG.

But subsidies will only be permitted providing the EEC Commission gives approval.

In other EEC countries there are growing suspicions that the Germans plan to use their economic supremacy to mow down all the weaker members of the Common Market.

Bonn's paramount interest in the European Community must be to keep open the huge customs union of EEC and Efta countries.

Western Europe accounts for more than half Germany's export business, and Bonn's European policy ought to be geared to showing maximum consideration for its partners in Europe.

It is a market threatened. The latest French economic measures, for instance, are a desperate bid to boost exports and set the balance of payments right.

Did Bonn really need to bludgeon the other EEC countries into allowing Germany an additional outlet of 34,000 tons of steel for two years?

Or was it just behaving like the in the proverbial china shop?

The Bonn government is keen to gress toward a European Union in der to keep the EEC market in bala

It would be splendid if the Gens Colombo plan were to be accepted the right of veto to be restricted in Council of Ministers, thereby ma swifter EEC decisions possible.

But how can this be reconciled Bonn's Economic Affairs Minister sisting on unanimity should ame ments be envisaged to the steel ag ment with the United States?

If policy on Europe is to be unif it must be handled by a single Cab Minister.

There used to be one, Hans-Jü Wischnewski, Minister of State at Foreign Office, who was capable coordinating European policy.

If Chancellor Kohl really wanted achieve in the EEC what he claim want he would have to give his Mi

Continued on page 3

The German Tribune

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## HOME AFFAIRS

# Houses of parliament: link not always an easy one

The Federal government and the upper house were at each other's throughout the 13 years of the FDP coalition in Bonn.

Social Democrats in the Bonn government constantly criticised the CSU majority in the Bundesrat. said the upper house obstructed Bundestag's legislative work and party political ambitions.

whenever state elections were Social Democrats liked to suggest two-thirds majority of the contives in the Bundesrat would be a danger for the Social cratic-Liberal coalition.

conservatives made no bones about these 13 years about the fact the hand the states took in shaping legislation under Article 50 of Constitution was not restricted to state interests but was also governparty-political considerations.

FDP was often cunning — espeon economic policy — hoping for desrat support whenever it was to persuade over its SPD coalipartner.

any event, lawmaking in almost all mental sectors was an extremely business.

ough the Bundesrat rarely flatly down bills in which it had a say as those governing extremists in service posts, VAT increases and scientious objectors) it sent them to mediating committee and thus ght about far-reaching amend.

any laws thus became useless work. As a result, some people of an all-party government due to conservatives' enormous influence Bundestag.

the new CDU/CSU and FDP ernment came to power in Bonn, the ities in the Bundestag and the desrat are of the same political coagain.

this now mean a complete schaltung of the two houses of ament?

is most unlikely, though naturalislative work has become easier — ially in matters that are seen prily in a party-political light.

first public exchange of views een the Bundesrat and the Bonn ernment when Chancellor Helmut addressed the Bundesrat and CSU Franz Josef Strauss the Bundestag indicates that total harmony is unlikely.

Kohl took the precaution of bowing to the state representatives in the Bundesrat and promising not to impose his will on the upper house as Adenauer had tried to do — only to find that the attempt backfired.

Kohl is aware of the state prime ministers' sovereignty drive. He used to be one of them. He is also wise enough not to expect the states to pander to him when it comes to the allotment of funds or jurisdictions as in the case of cultural affairs.

Chancellor Kohl has voluntarily offered to the Bundesrat what Strauss demanded only a week later: the states are no longer to ask hat in hand for the money they need to exercise their functions. Kohl has also agreed to transfer certain legislative authorities to the states in cases where federal legislation is not an absolute must.

The borderline here is determined by whether or not state legislation would endanger the equality of living conditions as demanded by the Constitution.

A prolonged phase of similar majorities in the Bundesrat and the Bundestag could even shift certain jurisdictions back to the states.

For instance: the mixed financing for common projects could be abolished. After all, it has caused more harm than good in the past few years — not only due to the haggling over money but also due to attemps to exert political influence on jointly financed projects.

But even useful reviews of the relationship between Bonn and the states will not be easy now because they call for a two-thirds majority in both houses; and it will prove very difficult to reach the necessary agreements between CDU/CSU, SPD and FDP.

The old Bonn government made the mistake of presenting bills to the Bundesrat in the hope that the upper house would either be swayed by "convincing solutions" or that it would be branded as the culprit if it rejected the bill.

The CDU and CSU-governed states have warned Kohl not to confront them with faits accomplis.

To prevent unnecessary and harmful disoutes, the states says, Kohl should ascertain their attitude towards legislative projects in good time — and good time means before the cabinet has decided.

In any event it is hard to imagine that Kohl could make decisions on his own considering such people as Strauss, Albrecht and Späth.

The states hold that the gesture Kohl made by offering State Minister Friedrich Vogel as a liaison is not enough to improve the atmosphere.

Franz Josef Strauss for one would have preferred a genuine "Bundesrat minister" while Ernst Albrecht has called for an informal committee within the conservative parties made up of federal and state politicians. The function of the committee would be to discuss important legislation before it is tabled.

Such a committee — if used intensively — would, however, raise even more constitutional reservations than were raised by the activities of the mediating committees.

If this were to be implemented, the balance between Bonn and the *Länder* would be abolished in favour of party-political meshing. And this, in turn, would fuel allegations of a "CDU nation".

*Heinz-Joachim Melder*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 20 October 1982)

Continued from page 2

ials, Alois Mertes, special powers, one might well argue.

long as Bonn Cabinet Ministers in els can paddle their own canoe the worst can be expected, given economic straits all EEC countries

Chancellor must realise that if he strengthen the European Commueconomic and financial sacrifices be required as an investment if there be any prospect of returns.

Common Market, will have to its weaker members from the petition of imports from non-EEC tries regardless whether or not Lambsdorff's ideology goes to the

*Erich Hauser*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 October 1982)

# Constitutional hurdle to election plan

Proposals to hold a general election on March 6 have run into a constitutional hurdle: there is no provision for the government to go to the country before the end of the legislative term — that is, 1984.

The new Bonn government has no shortage of problems: almost 2m unemployed, a record deficit and no sign of an economic upswing.

So the discussion over the finer procedural points that surround the proposed election seems by comparison a somewhat remote matter.

There is little general public appreciation of such issues: what is far more important to the man in the street is that the FDP changed its coalition partner over his head.

The Free Democrats clearly breached their 1980 campaign promise that "voting for the FDP guarantees Schmidt's continued chancellorship."

All parties in the Bundestag now agree that elections should be held as soon as possible. But that constitutional difficulty. The government must remain in office until the end of the term

The Constitution leaves no doubt that this was the intention of its designers. When they drafted it, they had in mind what happened in the Weimar Republic.

There are constitutional obstacles barring all roads out of the political dilemma that the government has deliberately brought upon itself through its promise to hold new elections.

There are a number of escape routes under consideration. One would be to amend the Constitution to enable parliament to dissolve itself. This approach is not new. It has already been suggested by a constitutional fact-finding committee.

Yet there are many reservations against. It would be the first time that MPs would have to decide on a constitutional amendment in great haste. The best thing would be to discuss a possible amendment and take plenty of time over it after the elections.

Another way of achieving the dissolution of parliament and new elections would be the Chancellor's resignation under Article 63 of the Constitution. But this would put a heavy strain the Constitution.

The scenario in such a case would roughly be: the Chancellor resigns. The president would have to propose a new candidate for the office to the Bundestag in the full knowledge that, the majorities being what they are, Parliament does not want to elect a new Chancellor.

If — as must be expected — the proposed candidate cannot muster the necessary majority, the Bundestag would have two weeks in which to propose any number of candidates on which it

Continued on page 15

# Schmidt delays decision on his future

Former Chancellor Schmidt is hedging about whether to become the SPD leader in the Bundestag. Nor has he agreed for run to regain the chancellorship in the election scheduled for March.

The main reason reason for not making a decision is probably because he realises that his own politics are not the same as a large section of the party.

Close advisers have also warned him against letting himself in for something that might wear him down.

But Schmidt seems deeply aware that the era of social-liberal coalition is irrevocably over. He has often mentioned this.

An unsuccessful attempt to revive the coalition would have disastrous consequences for whoever was the driving force behind it.

Schmidt is now in the process of explaining his views of the SPD/FDP era an so is unlikely to want to risk a political adventure.

The ex-chancellor's frequent addresses at trade union meetings must be taken as evidence that he wants to show the course the SPD should steer in the future.

As Schmidt sees it, the Social Democrats should intensify their efforts for the working class, where the party has its roots.

Such an attitude would be meaningful only if seen as an attempt to spare the party a brusque brush-off, intimating that he would not stand for the chancellorship again because he is working on his political last will and testament.

Schmidt mentioned recently more or less in passing what issues he would be dealing with in his memoirs. And anybody who does this is unlikely to contemplate returning to major politics.

Moreover, Schmidt seems to realise that his role as the SPD's locomotive was closely linked to his position as Chancellor.

But by far the most important reason for the hedging is probably the fact that his own political course differs from large part of his party.

While SPD Chairman Willy Brandt spearheads those in the party who want to rally Green (anti-nuke/environmentalist/peace movement) voters, Schmidt has never made any bones about his rejection of such a strategy. The Greens are "no discussion partners," he says.

So he finds it difficult to be the candidate of a party that has not yet fixed its position on major domestic affairs issues.

There is a vast chasm between Schmidt and the Greens, who oppose the double Nato decision on which the ex-chancellor would have to make concessions should the "left of the CDU/CSU coalition" favoured by Brandt materialise.

Schmidt, who is proud of being the engineer of the Nato decision, would stake his credibility if he stood for the chancellorship under these circumstances.

It is for these reasons that he will politely but firmly turn down his party's wish.

*Karl Hugo Pruys*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 20 October 1982)



## ■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

# Relations with GDR 'stepped-up in priority'

Relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR are to get a higher priority than under the Schmidt government, says the new Minister for Intra-German Affairs, Rainer Barzel.

The Schmidt government, he said, was only interested in bilateral relations between the states themselves. The new government wants "better relations for Germany and the Germans." And the GDR would have to get used to it.

This change in status had been reflected in a change in seating order both in Cabinet and in the Bundestag.

Herr Barzel said that despite the new emphasis, the German issue would be handled calmly and not aggressively.

The government had no intention of "engaging in a semantic dispute on the question whether there are two states, two German states or two states in Germany."

Barzel himself uses all these terms and is quite uninhibited in speaking of his "visit to East Berlin" or his intention to tour the region along the "zone border."

He says that it is a mere exercise in polemics to object to such terminology or indeed to depict it as proof of "all-German dreams."

Barzel places particular emphasis on the assurance in Chancellor Kohl's state-of-the-nation address to the Bundestag when he said that the new government will abide by all obligations towards the GDR entered into by the previous government.

This meant that all agreements with East Berlin would remain valid, including the agreement on the interest-free overdraft facility for intra-German trade.

The Minister hoped that East Berlin would regard this as a "signal."

There was now a circumspect government in Bonn, a government that knew what it was doing, and that that included relations between the two German states.

Asked about the possibility of further comprehensive and long-term agreements with the GDR — Chancellor Kohl expressed an interest in such agreements in his Bundestag address — Barzel pointed to the cultural agreement and cultural exchange.

"There are still loose ends that we want to tie up," he said, referring to the talks former Chancellery Minister Wischnewski held in East Berlin in mid-September.

Barzel evidently thinks of culture in broader terms than those applied by East Germany. He hopes above all to make cultivation of the German language an area of common interest.

He rejects all GDR attempts to "raise issues that stand no chance of being settled."

He sees little scope for a settlement of the border dispute. The GDR wants it in the middle of the Elbe River instead of on the river's north-east bank. This can be taken as a flat rejection of East German demands.

There is also no chance of reaching a citizenship arrangement as wanted by East Berlin because this would violate the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Another issue that Barzel considers non-negotiable is the closure of the Salzgitter office for the investigation of crimes arising from the division of the country. This, he said, was an internal matter of the state justice departments, primarily Lower Saxony's.

The upgrading of the permanent missions of the two German states in Bonn and East Berlin to the status of embassies would also not be considered.

He considers it more useful to act on previous arrangements, for instance, agreements on the work of journalists.

If further negotiations are to take place, they should deal with the abnormal travel conditions between the Federal Republic and the GDR.

Asked about the claim of the East Berlin newspaper *Neues Deutschland* that — referring to the quid pro quo principle — "the GDR has so far done more than the Federal Republic of Germany," the Minister said he was at a loss to see what the paper could have meant.

He was not troubled by the narrowly defined authority of his Ministry regarding *Deutschlandpolitik* resulting from the fact that the permanent mission to East Berlin is answerable directly to the Chancellery and controlled from there.

Since East Berlin might assume that he is too "dynamic," he suspects that the GDR's permanent mission in Bonn will shirk contacts with the Intra-German Affairs Ministry, dealing instead with other Ministries, especially that of Economic Affairs, with which it has always had close contacts.

The GDR, he said, need not fear that there will by any change regarding authorities and procedures because that



Rainer Barzel . . . no semantic disp[...]

(Photo: Sven S[...])

would be irreconcilable with the government's firm determination no[t to] do anything that will irritate East [Ber]lin.

He said he would "take a close l[ook] at everything and then tackle th[em] with the necessary even-handedness."

He expects that the national electi[on] next spring will mean additional w[ork] for his Ministry because the Chancel[le]ry and its State Minister Jenninger, [in] charge of the permanent mission [in] East Berlin, will be overburdened w[ith] other work.

As to the envisaged 6 March el[ec]tions, Barzel said that this was [...] stressing that "we are no frauds."

He sees it as his personal merit [that] the election date was mentioned [in] Chancellor Kohl's Bundestag addr[ess].

*Ernst-Otto Maet[zke]*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze[itung] für Deutschland, 21 October [1982])

# Jumpy East Berlin gets its propaganda all wrong

An article in the East Berlin party newspaper, *Neues Deutschland,* the day after Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl had delivered his policy speech shows how the change of government has caused some jumpiness in the GDR.

The article was published under the byline of the paper's Bonn correspondent, Werner Otto, but it is clear that it was inspired from high places in East Berlin.

It is a long time since *Neues Deutschland* has put its comments so crudely: it claimed that Kohl wanted a more Atlantic than European orientation. But it did not say that Kohl had also said he was "seeking new roads towards European unity."

The paper misquoted Kohl as saying: "The alliance with the USA is the essence of German statecraft." What Kohl said was: "The alliance is the essence . . ." He was, of course, referring to the North Atlantic alliance and made no reference to the USA in that context.

The *Deutschlandpolitik* part of the Chancellor's address was also falsified.

The article claimed that Kohl did not speak of the two German states but resorted to such terms as "Germany as a whole." What Kohl said was that the cooperation of "German states" must be improved. The term "Germany as a whole" was only used in connection with Allied rights dating back to the post-war era.

After all, the Soviet troops in East Germany still call themselves "Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany" and maintain liaison missions at the staffs of the Western allies.

*Neues Deutschland* also said that Kohl had spoken of the borders of 1937. Not a word of this is true.

The assessment of the facts is as malicious as their depiction: "Many people will ask themselves what can be expected of a country whose government is anxious to have Pershing 2 missiles stationed on its soil — something the majority of the citizens reject — and pursues pan-German ambitions."

Contrary to the Basic Treaty, the paper wrote, Kohl "wantonly" spoke of German unity and the fact that the German question was open.

Yet that very Basic Treaty (and its addenda) state that different views on the nationhood issue exist and that the citizenship issue remains unresolved, stating the Federal Republic of Germany's objective as "to work towards a condition of peace in Europe in which the German people can re-establish their unity in free self-determination."

Honecker himself said once that when socialism knocks on the Federal Republic of Germany's door the question of reunification will have to be totally rephrased.

The day after *Neues Deutschland's* commentary, Honecker tried to pour oil on troubled waters. While visiting Cyprus, he gave an interview consisting of one question and one answer. He said he considered it too early to make a comprehensive statement because he still had to study the full text of the state-of-the-nation address.

This means that the newspaper's commentary was premature. But even Honecker was deceived by the false quote, "alliance with the USA" as the essence of German statecraft. What bothered him, however, was above all the term "German statecraft."

He said the Chancellor could only speak for the Federal Republic of Germany, but that two sovereign and independent German states had emerged from the ashes of the Second World War.

The GDR leadership seems to find it hard to believe that the new Bonn government simply wants to continue its *Deutschlandpolitik* where the previous *Deutschlandpolitik* stopped.

East Berlin is suspicious of the word "continuity" because it feels that the Kohl government will be tougher in negotiations and will be more insistent in such demands as the reduction of the compulsory exchange of money for visitors from the West.

Conservative West German politicians have for years had contacts with East Germany's Communist Party; [par]ticularly Bonn's present Berlin com[mis]sioner, Peter Lorenz. But this is of li[ttle] use to the GDR leadership because [the] CDU/CSU has voiced a wide rang[e of] views on *Deutschlandpolitik.*

So the GDR has adopted a wait-a[nd-]see attitude for the moment while [reit]erating demands like those Honec[ker] made in his speech in Gera in Octo[ber] 1980: recognition of GDR citizens[hip,] upgrading of the permanent missio[ns to] embassies, settlement of the Elbe b[or]der issue and dissolution of the Salz[git]ter Office for the investigation of bor[der] crimes.

But the Kohl government is unlik[ely] to concede on issues on which Sch[midt] refused to give in.

With it all, there is no need to w[orry] about intra-German relations. T[he] GDR is at least as dependent on w[hat] has been achieved so far as is the Fe[d]eral Republic of Germany.

There are the trade relations, the c[re]dits, many monetary transfers and foreign exchange earnings resul[ting] from travel to the GDR — all of wh[ich] are now more sorely needed than e[ver] before.

Bonn will have to take into cons[ide]ration that the GDR leadership is e[vi]dently insecure — primarily due to many new formulations in Bonn and some extent also due to East Germa[n] own misinterpretations.

If Bonn makes a point of explain[ing] what its course really is, the GDR [lea]dership is bound to adapt to the realities.

*Joachim Nawroc[ki]*

(Die Welt, 22 October 1[982])



## MIGRANTS

# Turkish papers accuse 'Ugly Germans' over hostility towards foreigners

[G]ermans visiting Turkey are often [a]sked about the German dislike of [forei]gners. It crops up in almost every [conve]rsation.

[Tur]kish newspapers tell about the [ugly] Germans. The attitude is aggress[ive, m]alevolent.

[The] Turks, the tourists are told, once [held] the Germans in respect. They ad[mired] their efficiency, their correctness [and th]eir economic status.

[Mi]grant workers signed on in Turkey [to ea]se the pressure on a booming Ger[man] economy were a further link bet[ween] the two countries.

[But] now "Turks out!" slogns were ap[pear]ing more frequently everywhere in [Berli]n, Cologne, Essen, Munich and [Stutt]gart.

[Thi]s injured Turkish pride and put a [seriou]s burden on traditionally cordial [ties] between Germany and Turkey.

[In] discussions with private people in [Anka]ra, Istanbul and eastern Anatolia, [the p]oint is made courteously, implor[ingly.]

[In] newspapers fears are voiced that [the ne]w Bonn government will further [fan] the "Foreigners Out!" campaign. [Re]sentment colours objectivity. [Man]y Turks are evidently not too clear [abou]t the facts.

[The]y are reluctant to appreciate that [they] are by far the largest nationality [amon]g 4.6 million foreigners in the [Fede]ral Republic of Germany.

[The]y are well ahead of the Yugo[slavs], Italians, Greeks and Spaniards. [The]y are not just the 600,000 Turkish [work]ers, of whom 14 per cent are now [unem]ployed and drawing DM120m a [mont]h in benefits.

[The]re are their families too, another [milli]on or so. And despite the ban on [furth]er enrolment and visa require[ment]s more are bound to keep coming, [espe]cially children.

[The]re are also an estimated 200,000 [witho]ut visas. So there are about 1.8m [Tur]kish residents in West Germany.

[Ex]tra problems arise because the [Turk]s, as Mohammedans in Western [Euro]pe, tend to set themselves apart [more] than others. The language barrier [is a g]reater problem.

[Ge]rmany has emerged as a country to [whic]h others emigrate, but there is no [reaso]n why it should become a multi[nation]al state with a diversity of cultu[res.]

[It] cannot assimilate any more mi[grants], especially in the middle of a re[cessi]on and with unemployment near[ing t]wo million.

[The] number of newcomers must be [curbe]d if those already here are to be [given] better opportunities and to stand [a ch]ance of integration.

[Th]at does not amount to xenophobia, [whic]h does not come into the matter. Turks enjoy a reputation in Germa[ny as] good and reliable workers.

[The]y are also widely felt to be, for the [most] part, hard-working fellow-citizens [who] tend toward restraint.

[Ge]rman calls for an end to further [imm]igration and a reduction in the [num]ber of migrant workers sound [harsh], not to say brutal, to the Turks.

[The]y invariably point out that Tur[kis]h population, already 45 million, is [incre]asing by a million a year.

[No] matter how hard Turkey tries to [impr]ove its economic position there is no way, it is stressed, in which it can cope with this population explosion.

Official statistics admit to 15 per cent unemployment, so expansion, or in other words migration to Western Europe in general and West Germany in particular, seems the only way out.

For Turkey the problem of Turkish workers returning home, urgent though it might be, seems the least of its difficulties.

In a TV interview before his government policy statement to the Bundestag Helmut Kohl, the Bonn Chancellor, emphasised how pressing the Turkish problem was felt to be in Germany.

Here, now and fast, he said, sensible and socially just measures must be taken to get Turks to return home and reduce the number living in the Federal Republic.

Traditional friendship with Turkey must not, he added, be jeopardised, adding a few words of appreciation of Turkish culture.

Herr Kohl's first words on the subject were noted in Ankara with keen interest. In an initial conciliatory reply the Turkish Labour Minister appealed to Bonn to arrange for migrant workers to return home without coercion and with suitable support.

Suitable support as Germany sees it is mainly a matter of creating sound jobs for returnees to enable them to make use back home of the skills they have learnt in Germany.

For some time there have been experiments with associations set up to use Turkish savings in Germany to launch companies in Turkey.

Experts reckon Turkish workers in Germany have about DM10bn to DM15bn on deposit at German banks alone, so there is no lack of capital that might be invested.

The idea of workers' societies productively using their accumulated savings to invest and reintegrate back home is a most interesting one, at least on paper.

In practice Turkey has a shortage of managers and skilled workers. It lacks the managerial skills needed to ensure the survival of new small-, medium-scale and craft firms.

So there is less incentive to return home when you know the old country lacks the know-how to ensure long-term employment.

Too many migrant workers invest the money they save in Germany in land, companies and farms in Turkey but prefer themselves to stay on in Germany.

That can hardly be a sound reason for staying in Germany from the German point of view.

Relations between the two countries are nowadays mainly a matter of migrant workers. Romantic, sentimental recollections of the past are not enough to gloss over present problems.

Both sides must face the facts and set illusions aside. Scepticism, criticism and a constructive outlook are the only way to sustain the substance of relations.

We must appreciate in the West that no matter how keen the Turks are to join the West they remain Asians. Anatolia extends way into the Near and Middle East.

This undeniable fact presents an opportunity of more intensive cooperation, especially in the military sector, with Turkey as a partner.

Turkey must be seen both as a bulwark against expansion south by the Soviet Union and as a Western bridge to the Middle East and Central Asia.

*Wolfgang Höpker*

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 22 October 1982)

# Downing Street

Continued from page 1

is seldom encountered in the British capital.

European problems, especially Britain's continued call for a reduction in its financial contribution to the Common Market's kitty, were sure to be a main feature of the Bonn consultations between the two governments.

Mrs Thatcher will be as tough a negotiator on this point as she has been in the past with Helmut Schmidt.

She said she was going to visit Berlin after her talks in Bonn. She would be accompanied by Chancellor Kohl.

*Fritz Wirth*

(Die Welt, 21 October 1982)

# Spanish priest tells of 'the social outcasts'

Felix Rodriguez Fernandez, a Roman Catholic priest who works with the Spanish community in the Federal Republic of Germany, paints a gloomy picture of what life as a migrant worker is like.

"No-one wants you anywhere," he says. "There is nowhere you can really strike roots. You have no future.

"You are condemned to being a commodity on the labour market, to be used or thrown away as the occasion requires."

This is how he sees the life lived by four and a half million migrant workers and their families in Germany.

The right to found a family and live with it is a basic human right on which, he says, such restrictions have been imposed by Bonn that the result is a mere caricature of what it ought to be.

Foreigners felt they were almost social outcasts in Germany. The only institutions in which they had any faith were the Church and the trade unions.

This, he said, was a state of affairs that almost reminded him of Poland.

At a Bonn conference on foreigners in Germany, the Christian Democrats, Chancellor Kohl's party, said they were willing to face the challenge presented by four and a half million foreign residents.

And they were keen to get down to details in talks with the foreign residents themselves.

CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler, Minister of Family Affairs in Bonn, said it was a mistake to assume that by sending migrant workers packing jobs could be found for 1.8 million unemployed Germans.

There were, he said, a number of industries and service trades that relied on foreign workers. Examples he mentioned included the motor industry and dustmen in many towns and cities.

The Christian Democrats wanted to see integration, but it would only be possible if the number of foreign residents was not allowed to increase uncontrolledly.

Government policy was to retain the ban on hiring foreign workers from non-EEC countries. It was essential to do so in the interest of foreign residents themselves.

"What use would it be to them," he asked, "if coming to the Federal Republic meant no more than certain unemployment?"

He spoke out in favour of regulations governing members of foreign workers' families entitled to join husbands, wives or parents in Germany.

This was a controversial issue at the Bonn conference, but he defended current policy as follows: "Out of a sense of responsibility toward foreign children I feel an age limit beyond which children may not be allowed to join their parents in Germany is sensible and necessary.

"It is all very well to say that foreign residents ought to be allowed to bring 14- to 15-year-old children with them.

"But at that age they are no longer going to be able to bridge the gap. Children who join their parents too late are being deprived of their prospects for life and the future."

This was particularly true with unemployment so high in Germany at present.

But foreign residents who want to stay in Germany must integrate. That makes heavy demands on both them and the Germans.

Foreign residents must be expected to show understanding for political, social and cultural conditions in their host country.

In particular, they must acknowledge the principle of contitutional government and Western democracy.

"The Koran is not the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany," Herr Geissler said. "Basic Law is the constitution."

Germans, he said, must accept foreigners as being different. Coexistence of customs and cultures must be seen not as a nuisance but as a prospect of enrichment and variety.

Political mistakes were to blame for the problem of foreign residents having assumed such proportions, said Josef Stingl, head of the Federal Labour Office, Nuremberg.

Bonn ought to have reached agreement with migrant workers' native countries on how families were to be reunited. Yet from the start it had been a one-way trafic, with families being reunited in Germany only.

The government's failure to take action at the right time was finally responsible for the problems Turkish women faced in looking for jobs and Turkish youngsters in looking for an apprenticeship.

Members of the family were by no means alway brought to Germany merely in order to reunite families, Herr Stingl said.

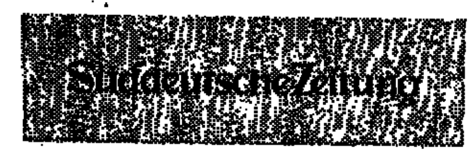
In many cases children were brought back to Germany by their fathers to earn money.

*Peter Matthes*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 21 October 1982)

## THE ECONOMY

# No quick ways of getting rid of the danger points



Whatever the government does, it will take a long time before it has any effect on growth, unemployment and budget consolidation.

Nobody knows how long the new government will remain in office. National elections have been scheduled for March. This uncertainty puts the brakes on investment and growth.

There had been hopes that the mood of business would change almost as soon as the conservative coalition announced what it intended doing. But there has been no sign of this.

But the change in Bonn should at least remove fears of "socialist experiments" and growing government interference in business along with the red tape this would mean.

So it should soon become evident whether the removal of these fears combined with other elements will influence the attitudes of business.

There are several points of concern: Bonn's new borrowing will rise to DM40bn this year, and this must have an effect on the money markets by restricting the scope for interest rate reductions.

The fact that the Bundesbank could not see its way to reducing discount rates at its last board metting shows the problems it has shaping a policy that would provide a shot in the arm for the business community.

Demand for industrial goods is dropping even more than in previous years. Orders for the manufacturing industry in August was 6.7 per cent lower than in the same month last year. It is indicative here that foreign orders are declining much more steeply (12.8 per cent) than domestic orders (3.3 per cent).

The decline was sharper in capital goods (8 per cent). Foreign orders dropped by 15.5 per cent and domestic orders by 2.1 per cent.

A survey made just before the change of government in Bonn showed that business pessimism had grown markedly.

"We're not exactly headed for good times. We have a tough time ahead and it will take an all-out effort to overcome this," commented Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorf.

The situation on the labour market is particularly distressing. Unlike in previous years, when unemployment figures dropped after the vacation season, this year saw a rise of 23,000 from August to September, making a total of 1.82 million — 563,000 more than in the same period last year. Unemployment is at 7.5 per cent.

The number of available jobs fell to 81,000, meaning that more than 20 jobless now have to compete for one job.

The Federal Labour Office expects unemployment to reach an all-time high of 2.5 million in January and February.

The government's economic advisory council speaks of an average annual unemployment in 1983 of 2.25 million.

Growth forecasts for next year differ slightly. The advisory council report anticipates a growth rate of one per cent — with luck. It expects an improvement in the second half of 1983 at the earliest while the first half of that year is expected to bring a slight drop in growth of about 0.5 per cent.

There is a margin of uncertainty in these calculations, and economists who forecast stagnation for 1983 will not be far off the mark. The figures thus show that the cake will not get any bigger and that there will be no extras to be distributed.

The latest survey by the Ifo Institute shows that consumers are reacting to the slump with a pronounced reluctance to buy.

August marked the lowest point for the retail business since this type of survey began in 1950. This applies to both the assessment of the present situation and business prospects for the next six months. The Ifo pundits predict a one per cent drop in private consumption (in real terms) for 1983.

Inflation is one bright spot in this generally bleak picture. The rise in the cost of living index has been declining in the past few months and was below five per cent in September. The report by the economic advisory council anticipates an average inflation rate of four per cent next year.

Steeply rising export figures have long acted as a booster for domestic business. But things have changed now, and foreign orders in many branches of industry are declining rapidly due to the slump in many trading countries.

According to the Hamburg-based HWWA Institute, the use of production capacities and employment have declined almost everywhere.

Germany's heavy dependence on exports makes this a major setback. Exports can take as much as 60 per cent of motor industry production and half of plant and equipment production.

Though foreign sales have risen so far this year, the order books that reflect the sales of tomorrow present a different picture. Here, the decline is pronounced; and this has nothing to do with a diminishing attractiveness of German goods. It simply reflects generl market conditions.

Many industrial states are plagued by a pronounced recession that has promoted protectionist trends.

The so-called threshold countries with their great need to catch up on investments are deeply indebted (the Mexican dilemma is only one of the more drastic examples).

In addition, East Bloc markets are not taking as much as many exporters had hoped; and even the oil-producing countries now find themselves short of foreign exchange.

Even so, our current account is likely to close with a surplus of about DM5bn due to the rise in exports earlier.

The mechanical engineering industry, Germany's most important employer, anticipates a one to two per cent drop in production this year due to declining orders. The situation is likely to be similar next year.

A recent press conference in Munich showed that this branch of industry expects to be particularly hard hit by the slump in investments in 1983.

Due to high export quotas, sales in the first half of this year were up 5.7 per cent; but the volume of domestic orders (adjusted for inflation) was down seven per cent in the first eight months of this year and foreign orders declined by as much as 12 per cent, making a total decline of 10 per cent.

The reduced use of production capacities has led to a reduction in the w[ork] force by two per cent in the first half [of] this year. The whole industry is co[m]plaining about inadequate profits.

The September unemployment rat[e of] 10.1 per cent in the USA demonstra[tes] the economic situation there.

The world's economically m[ost] potent country now has 11.2 milli[on] jobless — the highest unemployment [in] more than 40 years.

The Federal Reserve Bank now [in]tends to make massive interest rate [re]ductions to boost the economy. This [has] become realistic due to the success [in] fighting inflation. The inflation [rate] now stands at five per cent, so t[he] problem seems under control.

Even Japan is unlikely to see [any] growth in terms of demand and out[put] this year.

The GNP in the first half of this [year] was only one per cent up against [the] previous six months, and industrial [out]put has dropped markedly since the [be]ginning of the year. Unemployment [has] started to rise again, though it is [still] very low.

There is one bright element in the [ad]visory council's report; it sees signs [of] growth potential in a number of co[un]tries, including the USA, Japan, [the] Federal Republic of Germany, Switz[er]land, Austria and, perhaps, also Brit[ain] and Holland.

*Volker Wör[...]*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 October 1982)

**How the Federal Republic rates**

| Growth: Economic growth 1982 (% est.) | | Prices: Increase 1982 (1st half, %) | | Unemployment: % 1982, 1st half | | National debt: 1981, % of GNP | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Japan | +2 | Japan | +2.6 | Japan | 2.3 | France* | 16 |
| Italy | +1.5 | Fed Rep Germ | +5.6 | Fed Rep Germany | 5.8 | Fed Rep Germany | 34 |
| France | +1 | USA | +7.2 | France | 8.4 | Japan | 46 |
| Britain | +1 | Britain | +10.2 | USA | 8.9 | USA | 47 |
| Fed Rep Germany | 0 | France | +13.9 | Italy | 9.1 | Italy | 49 |
| USA | −1.5 | Italy | +16.6 | Britain | 12.7 | Britain | 59 |

*1980

# Bundesbank cuts the cost of money by 1 per cent

**Germany's central bank, the Bundesbank, has cut its discount rate from 7 per cent to 6 per cent and its Lombard rate from 8 per cent to 7 per cent.**

Pressure on the Bundesbank to lower interest rates always reaches its peak two weeks before its board meeting.

Ex-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has made a strong appeal to the central bank to reduce interest rates by several percentage points.

He has also criticised its rigid money supply policy which, he says, has greatly contributed to recession and unemployment.

The desire for cheap money is of course legitimate. Lower interest rates are a major element in industry's decision to invest, though there are other elements that have an even greater impact.

Even the Bundesbank itself cannot deny that current interest rates are excessive in the light of the miserable economic position — despite the fact that the bank's own rate has dropped from 12 to eight per cent within a year.

But the Bundesbank's Lombard or discount rates do not tell the commercial banks how much to charge their customers for loans and how much to pay on deposits. They are only orientation points for the banks which then negotiate interest rates with their customers.

It has been evident since September 1981 that many banks did not pass on to borrowers their own reduced cost of money. This is one of the main reason for the improved interest rate margin of banks.

After the 1979/80 pressure on inte[rest] rate margins the banks had to [do] something to improve them in order [to] provide a cushion against high cre[dit] risks at home and abroad.

But this does not change the fact [that] the banks could have reduced inte[rest] rates for short-term loans much mo[re] than they have done.

The Bundesbank has lately critic[ised] this practice. So we must not bla[me] only the central bank for the fact t[hat] loans have not yet become cheaper.

Some banks, whose profits a[re] good, have reduced their interest ra[tes] further than their competitors.

Yet many customers fail to make [use] of the competition among banks [and] seek money where it is cheapest.

The central bank board meeting [on] 21 October is expected to lower inte[rest] rates markedly, and commercial ba[nks] should be more generous in passing t[his] on to their customers.

Above all, they should not — as th[ey] have been doing in the past — red[uce] the interest on savings deposits first a[nd]

Continued on page 7



## BUSINESS

# Abandoning the boardrooms to follow in the footsteps of Gauguin

[Ch]anging careers in mid-life is not a [n]ew development: Paul Gauguin [and] Leonardo da Vinci both did. But [the n]umber of Germans who are opting [out o]f positions in top management is [noth]ing new. Some examples:

[Wol]fgang Schneider had climbed [very] much to the top of the corporate [ladder] and was the manager of the [family-o]wned Cologne pharmaceuticals [firm Ma]doponwerke when he decided to [pack] it in.

[Schn]eider joined the company in the 1950s, immediately after complet[ing hi]s medical studies. He quit in 1974, [work]ed for three years in a hospital to [brush] up on his medical knowledge [and i]n 1977, started a practice as a ge[neral] practitioner in Remscheid.

[Ev]ery adman dreams of opening a [...], says Hansjörg Klawitter, 42, for[mer] shareholder and general manager [of th]e Munich ad agency Wirz. He [made] his dream come true, though se[veral r]ungs higher up. Having sold his [share]s in the agency, he used the pro[ceeds] to buy a share of a small chain of restaurants.

[Rob]ert Schulz, 46, former manager [of a m]echanical engineering company [in] Cologne, acted on the spur of the [mome]nt when he quit his executive [posit]ion to become a professor of tech[nolog]y at Darmstadt's Technical Uni[versit]y from which he had graduated [years] before.

[Are th]e executives who abruptly ended [their] successful careers ... are they [dropo]uts?

[Acc]ording to the Swiss "headhunter" [...] Zehnder, there is no such thing as [a drop]out among executives.

[Th]e internationally renowned man[ageme]nt consultant says: "There are [peo]ple who want to achieve so[methi]ng and those who don't want to or [can't.]"

[But] the number of those who in mid-[life op]t out of a secure livelihood and [a top m]anagement position to start [someth]ing entirely new is growing stea[dily.]

[Pe]ople who get to the top while still [young] frequently find after ten to 15 [years] that they're fed up with it, [s]ays former Reemtsma chief execu[tive] Manfred Emcke, speaking for him[self an]d many others.

[He] is convinced that if it were not for [the se]curity and status obsession of [top] executives there would be a real [exodu]s from the boardrooms.

[The] fact that people who switch from [one li]ne of business to another are not [simpl]y dropouts is borne out by some [promin]ent personalities who did not [achie]ve fame until they made the [chang]e.

[Hein]rich Schliemann, the discoverer [of Tr]oy, made a career for himself in [busin]ess before becoming an archaeolo[gist] and famous.

[Nor] can Paul Gauguin be called a [dropo]ut only because he refused to [spend] his whole life as a stockbroker, [opting] for art instead — not to mention [Leon]ardo da Vinci, who was a military [and] civil engineer before becoming an [artist].

[Eve]n if none of those who opt out to[day a]re likely to achieve a similar place [in h]istory, most of them have laudable [reas]ons for the change.

Take Hugo Mayer-Ullmann: instead of chasing after record sales on behalf of the Canadian whiskey distillery Seagrams, he quit his directorship in 1978 in favour of becoming the manager of a church-run old people's home in Soest, Westphalia, where he now looks after 250 old people.

Having put the Hamburg office equipment firm Aristo back on its feet, Joachim Wittern asked himself "What's the pont in the whole thing?" Through the good offices of a bank he was appointed to the board of Alsterdorfer Anstalten, Northern Germany's largest organisation for the handicapped.

Together with two clergymen, he runs an organisation with a payroll of 2,500 and annual sales of DM140m.

Satisfied with the switch to worthwhile work, Wittern comments: "It's good to do more than just sell goods."

According to the Frankfurt personnel consultant Jürgen B. Mulder, people who opt for a switch do so because they have neglected and repressed earlier interests. Lorenz Tomerius, for instance, always wanted to do theatre work. And whenever the Esso executive went on a business trip he made a point of going to the local theatre.

In 1977, he turned his back on the oil business and got a job at the Bremen theatre as a dramaturge, an official of certain European theatres who is responsible for selecting and arranging the repertoire and who often cooperates with the producer in the course of rehearsals. Today he holds the same job at the Saarland Theatre in Saarbrucken.

A few of those who opt out do so because they no longer believe in the principles of capitalism. One is Hans A. Pestalozzi (a descendant of the educationalist by the same name) who turned his back on profits and the throwaway society to become a bestselling author after years as a top executive of the giant Swiss Migros Cooperative.

He exchanged his luxurious villa for a modest house in the country.

Not many of those who opt out are driven by frustration and a desire for freedom. One of those who was motivated by exactly this was a former manager of a Hamburger printing firm who, after 12 years in the rat race, took a job as a sailor aboard a four-mast schooner headed for the West Indies.

But even among those who are driven by a desire to go back to nature, there are many who still seek social status in their new lives. One is Manfred Köhnlechner, who used to be one of the top men of the Bertelsmann publishing empire and is now a fashionable nature healer.

Henning Hoesch opted out of his father's chemical works to farm his estate in France, using no chemical fertilisers or pesticides.

Severe identity crises are most frequent in the advertising and marketing business.

People who have to hard-sell a detergent can hardly expect a feeling of fulfilment.

One of them is Wolf-Dieter Doldinger, former coordinator of foreign marketing for Henkel. He put an end to his corporate career and, together with a partner, started a psychological practice.

Gerhard Kleining, head of market research at Reemtsma, left the company when he was offered the sociology chair at Hamburg University.

Up to 40 per cent of those who opt out do so on the initiative of their wives, says Albert Petersen, a personnel consultant.

A great many executive wives of today are working women themselves and can therefore make up for their husbands' loss of income.

After years of consumerism, there is now a conspicuous trend towards moderation on that score, giving way to quality of life, says Petersen.

One of the top executives who resigned on his 50th birthday called the move "my birthday present to myself."

If the economic slump continues, there is every likelihood that even more executives will look for alternative occupations, says Heinz Greiffenberger, formerly chairman of Rosenthal Technik AG. He left in 1980 and bought a rundown stainless steel company with a payroll of 300 to become his own boss.

"Diminishing growth will lead to even more intrigues and rivalry in the executive suites," says Greiffenberger.

*Hans-Otto Eglau*

(Die Zeit, 8 October 1982)

# Interest rates reduced

Continued from page 6

delay reducing the interest they charge on loans.

They could thus avoid criticism such as that by the president of Bavaria's central bank who accused them on this point.

Miracles must not be expected from the Bundesbank. It cannot just open the floodgates of money only because other efforts to stimulate the economy have failed.

If the central bank went along with Schmidt's demand, the consequence would be more inflation and, ultimately, less growth and rising unemployment.

Besides, it is not the Bundesbank's function to engage in economic and employment policy.

The central bank's possibilities of improving growth conditions are limited. Moreover, fighting inflation is also a means of promoting growth.

And on this front the Bundesbank has been successful. Still, the anticipated October won't be the last one.

*Claus Dertinger*

(Die Welt, 20 October 1982)

# Women at the top show their paces

Fifteen hundred women belong to the association of German women entrepreneurs (VvU). They are in charge of businesses with combined sales of DM40bn and employ 4.2m people. Their payrolls range from 10 to 40,000.

There are about 100,000 business women in the Federal Republic, but to be admitted to the association, they must be independent, listed in the companies' register and their company must have annual sales of at least DM1m.

Seventy per cent are wives and mothers, 30 per cent are the founders or organisers of the companies they head.

There is the boss of a cement factory, the director of a group of steel mills and women heading construction companies, cigarette factories and many technical companies.

There are, of course, also those whose business is closely linked with the world of fashion. Here, more than 90 per cent of the staff are women.

But many of these women are in charge of a predominantly male labour force. The results are startling: there are virtually no strikes in companies headed by women. And even when strikes were threatened, female intuition and flexibility helped avert them.

The most telling evidence of the business acumen of women, however, is the fact that there have been virtually no bankruptcies among them so far this year and that 1981 saw only one insolvency of a company headed by a woman.

One of the entrepreneurs: "We prefer putting our businesses on a solid foundation rather than speculating. We don't do things for show and we make a point of having personal contacts with our staff, which pays off by their understanding our problems as well."

Anne-Rose Iber-Schade, the president of VvU, which was founded in 1954, said in her address that with all the economic woes of our time women entrepreneurs had a positive attitude towards the future.

Amid much applause, she stressed that women entrepreneurs are essentially non-conformists and not given to resignation in the face of difficulties.

She welcomed the suggestion by Labour Minister Norbert Blüm to revive the "concerted action" (a regular meeting of representatives of the Bonn government, the business community and the trade unions).

She said that businesswomen considered government guarantees an "insurance against managerial mistakes for which no premium has to be paid rather than an effective instrument against redundancies and mammoth bankruptcies."

She called on the major companies to stop their takeovers, saying that "it is we who have to pay the penalty in terms of laws and regulations resulting from the anti-market economy attitudes of the major corporations."

Anne-Rose Iber-Schade said that, trusting in a style of management no man can achieve, Germany's women entrepreneurs are willing to help pull the economic cart out of the mire.

*Jutta W. Thomasius*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 16 October 1982)

■ NATO

# Controversy over scheme to increase reliance on conventional weapons

A row at Nato has become public. It involves an alleged change of strategy by the organisation's American commanding officer General Bernard W. Rogers.

European Nato officials, say General Rogers has put the emphasis on building up conventional forces. These are to be equipped with new, electronically guided missiles designed to knock out a second wave of attacking Warsaw Pact forces in their assembly areas.

The officials don't mention General Rogers by name, but they clearly mean him. They say his views will alter the nuclear threshold. He has also underestimated the cost of the changes.

General Rogers has rejected the accusations. He is upset about them. He feels he has been misunderstood and unfairly accused on having failed to consult the appropriate Nato bodies.

His concept, he says, was submitted to the Nato military committee on 30 October 1981 as part of the armed forces proposals.

On 8 December 1981 it was referred to the defence planning committee at a meeting attended by Ministers, and on 19 May 1982 it was dealt with by high-ranking military officers from Nato countries at the Shapex conference.

The governments of member-countries are also said to have been informed. His strategic ideas were included *in the armed forces targets laid* down in spring 1982.

Nato officials close to General Rogers say it is wrong to talk of a new strategy. The general sees his proposals in a wider context and regards them as an intensification of the existing flexible response strategy.

They recall that the forward defence concept is a German idea. Nato strategy as agreed leaves room for flexibility.

General Haig, who was General Rogers' predecessor at the military helm of Nato, likewise sought to strengthen the pact's conventional forces.

This is felt to be essential because of changes that have occurred in the triad of Nato defence options, consisting of strategic, tactical and conventional forces.

In this deterrent triad strategic and intermediate-range nuclear systems have been improved, while conventional forces have been neglected.

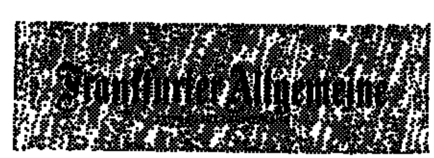
As a result, the balance of the triad is in jeopardy.

General Rogers ordered a review of existing conventional capacity on taking over as Nato chief. It was to bear in mind the requirements of existing strategy and the newly-developed Soviet capacity.

The review revealed that conventional forces were inadequate. This inadequacy would lead to the nuclear threshold being shifted lower in the event of hostilities.

He initially concentrated on improving the serviceability of existing forces. On further consideration conditions were laid down for ensuring that the nuclear threshold was held higher.

One concept entailed using the latest electronic options to identify Warsaw Pact assembly areas and destroy second-echelon units and tanks there.




This strategy would leave the aggressor with the option of a first nuclear strike, whereas Nato's nuclear capacity would remain in reserve as a last option.

General Roger's ideas have now been discussed at Nato headquarters in Brussels and in Nato's military committee, and it was clear that European Nato countries were sceptical.

They object to any idea of Nato strategy requiring new features and would prefer to avoid the term "new strategy," which has been used by the media since General Rogers' official pronouncements.

The Europeans point out that they have always actively supported the maintenance and improvement of conventional armed forces.

The political aim of such endeavours is to keep the nuclear threshold as high as possible yet to maintain an effective deterrent by both conventional and nuclear means.

Criticism is also levelled at announcements that new weapons are on the way. While it is accepted that such weapons will be an invaluable reinforcement for conventional purposes, they cannot for the time being take the place of theatre nuclear weapons in their deterrent effect.

They will certainly be unable to do so, the argument runs, for as long as the Geneva talks have failed to achieve results.

It is agreed in Nato that nuclear weapons are only to be used to influence the political intentions of an aggressor. So the introduction of new weapons technology would only indirectly influence the nuclear threshold.

Doubts are also cast on General Rogers' assertion that the desired improvement in conventional forces could be brought about by boosting member-countries' military spending by four per cent a year in real terms until the end of the decade.

In 1977 Nato agreed to an increase in defence spending in the region of three per cent per annum in real terms.

This was not even enough to meet all obligations arising from the long-term defence programme.

There were no findings yet available on how much money was still ne but the signs were that a four-pe in-crease would at best be just enough to meet commitments cu .envisaged.

That is, it might possibly be en always assuming a four-per-cent in se in defence spending was feasible.

No information was available the cost of the new weapons, w would not be available before 199 it would be better not to give rise to realistic hopes.

Given the Nato countries' econ and financial situation calls for an crease in defence spending were p cally out of the question.

The anxiety voiced by Euro Nato countries about the new stra debate must to a large extent be se connection with the impression makes in public, especially on the o side.

They fear the credibility of the c rent deterrent doctrine might be ma if high-ranking Nato officials wer issue statements that had not been checked with other member-countrie

Nato must always convey a un impression, which is why they sugges would be better not to introduce further features into the speculat public strategy debate.

They regret that it was ever given th name, and although General Rogers clearly meant, his name is not menti ed.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze für Deutschland, 18 October

# Atlantic Council faces up to tough question of finance

The traditional winter session of the Atlantic Council, to be held in Brussels early in December, looks like being a trial of strength for Nato.

The North Atlantic pact's 16 Defence Ministers, and arguably even more so the 16 Foreign Ministers, face what seems to be a task that virtually defies solution.

Their aim is to call a halt to the anti-nuclear weapons movement on both sides of the Atlantic by boosting non-nuclear, conventional armament.

This seems sure to mean extra costs amounting between one and one and a half per cent of current defence spending, or, between $2.5bn and $4.3bn, and it would be good value at the price.

This figure, which has been going the rounds at Nato, is the total that would be shared by all member-countries. But the prospects are poor.

In the United States there are news stories about once a week of reports concluding that the accumulated debt of the US Federal government is expected to reach $1,000bn by 1985 or so.

The inference is that from 1984 America is going to have to make swingeing cuts in defence spending.

The next link in the chain of argument is an analysis of defence costs, about half of which go toward safeguarding Europe by vitue of America's Nato commitments.

If America can no longer afford to do so, it is argued, US policy will just have to be changed, and why not withdraw from Europe indeed when the Europeans are not doing enough for their own security?

No-one is more determinedly opposed to such ideas than General Bernard W. Rogers, the Nato C-in-C, but he is known no longer to be on the same wavelength as Defence Secretary Weinberger.

In Washington Mr Reagan's Californian aides are gaining greater influence, and they see the United States not just as an Atlantic, European power but half as a Pacific, Asian one.

This is a dangerous trend from the viewpoint of European security. What is needed is a full-scale campaign to brief US public opinion on Europe's defence contribution.

Over the past decade US defence spending has declined in net terms, after inflation adjustment, by 1.8 per cent per annum. Europe's defence spending has increased.

What is more, clarity must be established on what has been termed Nato's new strategy.

To draw level with the Warsaw Pact in conventional terms Nato would need to embark on a full-scale arms build-up, but in the past this has been felt to be to expensive.

So in the event of a Warsaw Pact attack the West could not afford to rule out a nuclear response.

Moscow has formally proposed renouncing the first use of nuclear weapons, but the West cannot consider doing so until conventional parity has been restored.

Bids to strike a balance have been in progress to no avail for 10 years at the Vienna MBFR troop cut talks in C tral Europe.

Nato naturally stands very chance of the East bloc helping it ou this dilemma, although if Moscow w only ready to compromise at Vienna West could forgo conventional a modernisation.

But the Kremlin is likely to let N continue to stew in its own juice in further hope that the campaign agai nucleur armament in Nato will grow strong that nuclear arms to offset East's conventional superiority will scrapped.

That could well upset the balance military power in Europe once and all.

So Nato's new strategy can only be combine convincing disarmament forts with conventional modernisati despite shortage of funds.

Britain and France are going it alo so worried are they that joint efforts this direction might fail to materialise

France has decided to go ahead w the neutron bomb, albeit not this ye and in view of British and French clear spending neither can be expect to be able to afford extra conventio armaments.

The same is true of Nato countr such as Portugal, Spain, Greece, T key, Belgium and Denmark, all which are virtually broke and unable afford either.

Germany cannot possible afford bear the brunt of extra expendit backed only by Holland and Norw let alone to make offset payments ward the cost of Nato to the Uni States.

The one and a half per cent of Na defence spending initially mentio amounts to roughtly 25 per cent Bonn's defence budget.

This is the trial of strength the ne Bonn government in particular m face.

*Hermann Bohl*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 19 October 19

COMMUNICATIONS

# Dish antenna for satellite TV key to viewing choice of the future

the mid-1980s Europe seems sure have a much wider choice of sa-TV programmes. Using an inex-e dish antenna we will all be able ive directly programmes relayed llite.

programme to which viewers all over the Federal Republic of ny will be able to tune in should io Luxembourg.

ll be joined by other foreign pro-es relayed by Franco-German or satellites, and possibly by pro-es experimentally produced by uropean Broadcasting Union.

rt from a few minor details, tech-problem seems to have been . But legal and political difficul-main.

y include issues of national sove-y and unlimited advertising, nei-f which are minor matters. But no-one yet knows is what pro-es will be like.

EBU's third week of trial broad-g has just been held. First Britain, Italy broadcast experimental pro-mes.

s time it was Austria's turn to re-e hours of TV a day by satellite. the programmes were not readily able to anyone with a suitable an-a.

y were decoded in Venice, where were received from OTS, a disused t hovering at an altitude of 36,000 a position at 5°E.

e Prix Italia jury, consisting of casting officials and journalists, given a short and superficial look ying conceptions of the media fu-

was important source material for of them who attended a confer-on Satellites: Which Programmes? it not been for the test programmes would have been limited to theor-l debate.

e first week's transmissions, com-d by Britain's Independent Broad-g Authority, or commercial TV, d to emphasise the European cha-r of the programmes by combining any different features as possible.

e week's programmes put together AI of Italy dealt with a specific to-ach day for a week.

dio Austria was keen to test multi-l live presentation, using teletext titles in a variety of languages, ping graphic elements and testing l services for a European public.

uropean news was relayed every on the hour, with a national news-ce a day to show what import-national news has in each country.

the end of November ARD, the an network, will produce the next 's EBU satellite TV trials. Will it original programmes as some cation of satellite TV?

the satellite TV conference held in alongside the Prix Italia pro-e there were few pointers, apart newscasts, to anything special European TV programmes.

tellite TV will not improve quality, quantity, says ARD programme di-r Dietrich Schwarzkopf. He and esmen for other European broad-ng corporations are sceptical about new idea.

Their scepticism is by no means due merely to the prospect of competition from private operators.

"The French satellite may be in keeping with technical and economic requirements of gaining access to foreign markets," says M. Teyssier of French TV.

"But it is by no means in keeping with viewers' needs," he adds, sounding a clearly critical note.

Political and social considerations have been superseded of late by economic factors in pressing ahead with technical innovations and changing the media landscape.

This has not made it any easier to attempt meaningful programme planning, as experts in the Federal Republic well realise.

In Germany no more than a start has been made to cabling up the country to the new media. No-one has much idea what to do with the new capacity.

With agreement not yet having been reached on this point, satellite TV has made its appearance as yet another newcomer to the media market.

We now have three TV channels in Germany. Will we have 30 before long? What, in any case, is meant by European programmes?

Are they to be material specially but independently compiled by individual European broadcasting authorities?

Are they to be European-produced programmes with a European angle? Or are they to be programme exchanges featuring regional, autonomous culture?

Conference delegates wondered, but all that can be said with certainty is that technical developments are streets ahead of ideas on content and aesthetics.

But must this mean we are to face an increasingly wide choice of identical programmes? A number of European countries, particularly Italy, are keen on the idea of satellite TV for Europe, but the men in charge still have a great many questions to answer. What programmes do they envisage relaying by satellite and what concept of Europe or European do they favour?

*Wolfgang Würker*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 October 1982)

The dish of the future. The Berlin radio show featured this 3ft dish antenna for satellite radio and television. One day, this will be as common a domestic roof-top sight at the television aerial of today. (Photo: WEDO press)

# Information through domestic TV — the age of videotex

Provided care is taken to avoid abuse, consumer associations in the Federal Republic of Germany are confident videotex services will make life easier.

Postmen as they trudge through the snow, with their annual collection of Christmas and New Year cards may be consoled by the thought that season's greetings will soon be cheaper and less trouble to send by viewdata.

Writing cards, sorting them and delivering them by hand would be much too expensive, quite apart from the waste of time.

The consumer viewpoint was framed in the wake of videotex trials, using 2,000 volunteer subscribers, in Berlin and Düsseldorf. Everyone is convinced the service will be generally introduced next year, and by 1986 there are expected to be over a million subscribers. Details of the agreement are currently being drawn up to lay the legal groundwork for videotex technology. Consumer associations are mainly concerned to ensure that customers' rights, for which so many a legal battle has long been fought, apply to videotex transactions just as they do to buying at the shop or on the doorstep. General conditions of business must apply in full, especially the right to cancel an order made by the armchair subscriber. Abuses must be prevented and, as the data protection commissioner put it, the principle of fair data processing must be observed.



Bildschirmtext, the German videotex system. Viewers can dial information provided through the post office by organisations or individuals renting the system. (Photo: Kraufmann)

By and large, consumer representatives feel retail traders are likely to have more trouble with videotex than customers.

Maybe videotex trading will finally bring about the demise of the Retail Trade (Hours of Business) Act. Videotex transactions can be carried out round the clock and not just from nine to five.

But the consumer must not be inundated with advertising, and advertising must be kept strictly separate from information.

This was one of the conclusions reached as a result of trials so far, but consumer representatives foresee a wide range of service facilities that could be provided in this way.

Consumer advice bureaus periodically compile price comparisons for various articles. These price lists have often been ordered by videotex subscribers in Berlin and Düsseldorf.

Banking is another service that could easily be supplied from computer to computer on the TV screen. Experts are far less worried than laymen by the possibility of computer crime in this context.

There are said to be three safety factors that will rule out improper access to someone else's bank account.

First, every customer has his own code number in addition to his personal computer number, which is the second safety link. Third, he has a list of 50 transaction numbers, of which he can choose any when making a transaction.

At all events, computer banking is the safest form yet available, experts agree. The Bundespost is busy installing a number of videotex screens to enable giro customers to see at a glance how their account stands and to make electronic transactions.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 14 October 1982)

## ■ THE ENVIRONMENT

# Problems involved in getting use from radioactive waste

Radioactive waste from nuclear power stations cannot simply be allowed to go to waste. Spent reactor fuel may be lethal and contaminated but it is much too valuable to throw away.

Recycling was strongly endorsed at a Bonn conference on nuclear waste disposal by atomic energy experts.

Uranium and plutonium from spent fuel rods could, they said, be made to meet much of Germany's energy needs if a reprocessing plant were built.

German nuclear power stations have accumulated 1,400 tons of uranium in the form of spent fuel rods. This stockpile is growing by 285 tons a year.

In a conventional light-water reactor 64 of the 200-odd fuel rods need on average to be replaced every year.

Spent nuclear fuel from Germany has so far been reprocessed at Windscale in England, Cap de la Hague in France and at a small pilot plant in Karlsruhe.

Windscale and La Hague are commercial operations. Karlsruhe is mainly a research facility used to gain experience in handling used fuel rods.

By no means all fissile material from German reactors has been reprocessed. Most is still in compact storage at nuclear power stations.

By the terms of the integrated nuclear waste disposal concept agreed by the Federal and state governments a major reprocessing plan with an annual capacity of 350 tons is envisaged.

Sites have been proposed, and are highly controversial, in locations including Kaisersesch, Rhineland-Palatinate, Frankenberg, Hesse, and Schwandorf, Bavaria.

The alternative to reprocessing would be to store fuel rods after use in suitable containers somewhere where neither uranium nor plutonium could escape into the biosphere.

But this method, speakers said, is nonsense in both economic and energy policy terms. The spent fuel can be reprocessed to produce new fuel rods.

Recycling can make it possible to reuse up to 40 per cent of the spent, waste material.

It may sound like some kind of perpetuum mobile, but the physical facts are fairly straightforward.

Plutonium is produced in every fuel rod in every reactor. Uranium that has not been subjected to fission also remains in spent rods.

At a reprocessing plant these two elements are separated from the remaining, unusable material. So used fuel can be processed to produce new fuel for reuse in power reactors.

Dr Hildenbrand, who works for a nuclear power station manufacturer, put it this way:

"The reactor has no way of telling whether it has been charged with new or reprocessed fuel rods."

Separation is, however, an extremely complicated process, mainly because the material is so hot (in every sense of the term).

First, radioactive decay generates heat that makes it essential to provide constant refrigeration.

Second, the fuel rods still emit such a high level of radiation that they can only be handled by robots.

Humans must not make contact; they would immediately be given a lethal dose.

Security requirements are expensive but reprocessing still makes sound economic sense, says Dr Hildenbrand.

From the 64 fuel rods phased out annually at the average light-water reactor, fuel for 25 new rods can be recycled. So uranium for only the remaining 39 needs to be imported.

This did not apply to the fast breeder reactor. Its mixed oxide fuel rods could be reused in light-water reactors.

Dr Walter Schöller of the Karlsruhe pilot project estimated at the co[…] ence how much energy could be […] over the next decade by going all o[…] recycle used uranium.

He based his calculations on to[…] coal equivalent as an energy unit. […] average annual output of German […] fields is 87 million tons. It could […] said, be increased to 95 million ton[…] 1992.

Over this period spent fuel […] could be reprocessed to recycle 11 […] lion tons of coal equivalent.

Dr Schöller's assumptions were […] ed on conventional mining techni[…] but other methods have for years […] under consideration at Ruhrkohle, […] Ruhr Coal Mining Corporation, a[…] research laboratories.

Whether reprocessing spent nu[…] fuel makes sense will depend to a l[…] extent on the price of uranium in w[…] markets.

If the going price were $30 per l[…] uranium oxide, Dr Hildenbrand […] DM22m a year could be saved per r[…] tor refill.

That was exactly the difference […] cost between inexpensive final sto[…] of untreated nuclear waste and rep[…] cessing it to recycle fissile material.

*Horst Rademach[…]*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 October […])







# Forests in jeopardy as tree diseases take firmer hold

Tree diseases have taken an increasingly heavy toll this year. Between January and October the area affected has doubled.

The fir tree is not alone is facing extinction. It has been joined by nearly all major species: spruce and pine, beech and oak.

Enormous efforts must be made by Federal and state governments to ensure that the woodland third of the country's surface area is not denuded.

This point is made by an environmental and nature conservation association, BUND, which claims to be non-party in political terms.

A third of the country's woodland surface area is said already to be diseased. That is a total of two million hectares, or 5.2 million acres.

The tree toll has already stripped most of the Erzgebirge region of timber. A similar fate threatens the Bavarian Forest, the Fichtelgebirge, the Black Forest and Harz in the years to come.

A spokesman for the association, Hubert Weiger, agrees with many other experts that tree diseases are due to atmospheric pollution over the decades.

Acid rain is felt to have a lot to answer for. Herr Weiger, a forestry graduate, says environmental pressure makes trees less resistant to disease.

They are more sensitive to frost and drought and pests of all kinds.

He was strongly critical of politicians, saying the political response to this alarming trend was and remains pathetic.

Politicians and public opinion still fail to grasp the true extent of the imminent ecological collapse.

"Nothing," he says, "has yet happened apart from fine words and an insignificant increase in research fund allocations."

His organisations calls for an immediate emergency programme to bring tree deaths to a halt.

The sulphur dioxide output of power stations and other industrial plant (the cause of acid rain) must be red[…] drastically and fast.

BUND's detailed demands are:

● All power stations with a sul[…] dioxide output of more than 2,000 […] grams per cubic metre of exhaust f[…] must immediately be equipped with […] sulphuration facilities.

They must reduce the sulphur d[…] ide count to 400 milligrams at m[…] which could be done at the stroke o[…] pen, since most power stations in G[…] many are owned by the Federal or s[…] governments.

All power stations in the coun[…] must be fitted out with desulphura[…] equipment over a period of five ye[…] That would cost about DM6bn, or […] than the cost of a single Biblis C-s[…] nuclear power station.

● Before the end of the year atm[…] pheric pollution and furnace re[…] tions must be toughened up. Sulp[…] dioxide output must definitely be l[…] ted to 250 milligrams as a rule and […] milligrams as an exception.

● Talks must be held without de[…] with neighbouring countries to red[…] atmospheric pollution that crosses […] tional borders.

The European Community must […] mark regional found allocations fo[…] pollution of power stations in mem[…] countries.

BUND would like to see these […] mands emerge as a major feature of […] forthcoming general election camp[…] It also plans to launch a country[…] Save the Forest campaign.

Environmentalists from Lower Sa[…] ny have pointed out to the Bonn […] vernment that Buschhaus brown […] power station, under construction […] Helmstedt, will emit 12,650 millig[…] of sulphur dioxide per cubic metre […] exhaust fumes through its 300-metre […] chimney.

This is 20 times higher than the l[…] recommended as a maximum by E[…] ronment Ministers.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 8 October […])



## THE CINEMA

# Last year just a bad dream: festival redeems itself



[…] Mannheim film festival has re[…]ained some of its reputation: last […] it was hard to believe that the […] was internationally renowned be[…] of its willingness to experiment.

[…] this year there was a much better […]sion. There were new directions […] and content.

[…] year there was no stimulus or ex[…]. Most of the entries were un[…]ative and only vaguely hinted at […] that should have had an explo[…] impact.

[…] interesting films were shown, […] as official entries, which made […] wonder what the selection com[…] had been up to.

[…]btful decisions by the jury made […] even worse. Press coverage sug[…] that Mannheim was growing […]cial and forecasted worse to co[…]

[…] this year many filmmakers show[…] only imagination and determina[…] they also succeeded in reaching […] moving their audiences by their […]iment.

[…] the documentary section two en[…] made a lasting impression. They […] Roses in December, by Anna Car[…] of the United States, and Death at […] Romain Goupil of France.

[…]ses in December retells the tale of […] Donovan, a young lay missionary, […] and three other women were mur[…] in December 1980 by the security […] in El Salvador.

[…] film goes into the circumstan[…] of the massacre and asks a number […]estions that have gone unanswered […] day because the US government […]udiously avoided going into them.

[…] accusing finger pointed by this […] yet unpolemical documentary […] the film sequences, not the sound[…]

[…] scenes are appalling and immen[…] sobering. They carry such convic[…] that at times one feels like closing […] eyes because the pain seems un[…]ble.

[…] is the cynical statement by a […]enator who denies any connection […] the Salvadorian authorities and […] the deaths out to have been a car […]ent.

[…] there is the scene in which four […]'s bodies are retrieved from a […] grave in an open field. They […] been raped and then shot from be[…]

[…] experts are read from the sub[…] made by the murderers, mak[…] extremely difficult for a critic to […] few well-chosen words.

[…] in December won this year's […] as the best documentary film at […]heim.

[…]ain Goupil's carefully research[…] balanced tale of a friend who […]itted suicide was equally shatter[…]

[…]ath at 30 describes not just the […] but authentic life of one person; it […] analyses the despair of an entire […]ation that set out in 1968 on a […] political struggle with the […]ishment.

In laborious detail Goupil links amateur and archive film material and acted scenes shot over a period of years.

The result is a film essay that establishes a unity of sense and sensibility in a striking demonstration of human sensitivity.

His freedom of style testifies to the influence of Jean Luc Godard, for whom Goupil worked as an assistant director for several years.

His film was awarded the Josef von Sternberg Prize at Mannheim.

One of the more striking entries in the main film category was heavenly Fields, a first film by Ian Pringle of Australia. He deals with the loneliness of modern man in an unusually clear and original manner.

It is a straightforward tale of two totally different men working at a remote satellite tracking station high up in the mountains.

They gradually grow dependent on each other, and the tale is given general validity by means of readily understandable metaphors.

The films is also impressive for its simple but exact shape. Pringle constantly and with great elegance oversteps the mark between dream and reality.

He seldom uses technical effects, preferring to achieve his effects by means of well-chosen film and soundtrack footage.

The main award of the city of Mannheim went to a Soviet entry, The Night is Short, by M. Belikov, who describes the thoughts and feelings of a boy whose father was killed in the war.

He concentrates on an unusually sensitive use of his actors. There are several impressive figures, whereas the subject and the plot are shown in more conventional terms.

Werner Nekes preferred an entirely unconventional approach in his optical spectacular, Uliisses, which is a fantastic, confusing pictorial voyage of discovery into the interior of his mind.

Events take place at various levels and in various relationships that intermingle. The audience are presented with breathtaking twists in reality that defy the laws of time, place and logic.

Landscapes, faces and feelings are jumbled together so anarchically that the sequence of imagery would need to be seen three or four times at least in order to do it justice.



From 'Exercises,' Anke Oehme's contribution to the nine films which make up 'Aus heiterem Himmel.' (Photo: Basis-Film)

This Odyssey of Homeric myths, Joycean irritations and cinematographic history is the only genuinely experimental film that was an officially entry at Mannheim this year.

The award for the best TV film went to *Aus heiterem Himmel* (Out of the Blue), a collective entry by nine West German women filmmakers.

It dealt with fear of war and the aftermath of nuclear destruction, but despite genuine commitment the nine episodes making up the film remained somewhat pallid and arbitrary.

So the jury's choice may mainly have been intended as a gesture of encouragement for women filmmakers, who in Mannheim as elsewhere were very much in the minority.

*Günther Jurczyk*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 October 1982)

# A gap between the idea and reality

China seemed at times too good to be true in a retrospective of Chinese films held as part of the Mannheim film festival.

Courteous, friendly people laughed and cracked jokes as they went about their work in the paddy fields. Selflessly they helped each other, practising solidarity and not just preaching it.

Even those who earned a little money on the side, thereby cheating the village community, came to see the error of their ways and regretted their egoistic behaviour.

They then decided to forgo their ill-gotten gains and hand over their capital to the community as a whole.

This idea of the good person, someone who may not be free of greed, envy and ideas of competition but consistently combats them, is a hallmark of the Chinese film.

The cinema is thus seen as a utopian version of what is not yet reality, an expression of the contrast between the idea and the reality.

This certainly applied to The Lin Family's Shop and Li Shuangshuang, films made in the late 1950s and early 1960s at the end of the first reconstruction phase in People's China.

Consistent development has not been a hallmark of the Chinese film industry. It would probably have been out of the question in a country where sweeping contrasts have been typical of chequered recent history.

The end of traditional feudal society, three civil wars, the struggle against the Japanese army of occupation and the cultural revolution have made a deep imprint in the work of Chinese film directors and scriptwriters.

The Chinese film got off to an extremely promising start in classics such as The Spring Silkworms, 1933, and The Divine Woman, 1934.

To this day neither film has lost its fascination and appeal. One is struck by the impressive way in which the world of the poor and the prostitute is portrayed.

Accusation and protest take shape from the situation and call for neither pathos nor cramped ideology.

Types are outlined and characters shown who mature into personalities in the daily struggle for survival.

The variety of individuals bears witness to the influence of traditional Chinese opera. So does the swift succession of groups and individual performances.

The techniques used may show signs of borrowing from Japanese and Soviet filmmakers, but some Chinese filmmakers certainly seem to have evolved national authenticity.

This distinctive, independent form of expression is also apparent in Ravens and Sparrows, a film made in 1949.

The sufferings and grandeur of ordinary people are narrated, often ironically and humorously, with an air of detachment that is nonetheless loving.

But no attempt is made to make out the rifts in society to be harmless.

To judge by the films shown in Mannheim this changed radically after 1949, when the Communists came to power in Peking.

After the Communist take-over the cinema increasingly came to be used as a propaganda medium. Its role was to proclaim revolutionary ideas.

In doing so it sacrificed the psychology and character studies of earlier years, resulting in an unmistakable loss of quality.

A quite unbearable heroism, as in Never Him, the tale of a revolutionary composer, is typical of Chinese film output in the 1950s.

Mao's theory that art had a crucial part to play in re-education and propaganda was unimaginatively put into practice.

An aesthetic of revolutionary pathos arose, defining the individual as part of the movement or of the collective.

In the early 1960s filmmakers began to free themselves from this ideological constraint and deal with more general human topics such as relations between men and women at work or clashes between parents and daughters over the choice of a husband.

But the change was soon brought to a halt by the cultural revolution, which almost put paid to filmmaking in China from 1966 to 1976.

The Peking Film Academy had to close. Directors, writers and other artists were arrested. Some were sent to forced labour camps.

After the eclipse of the Gang of Four the Chinese film industry had to come to terms with the past, as it has so often had to do this century.

In The Cherry Tree, 1979, and Bear-

Continued on page 15

■ SCHOLARSHIP

# Historians grubble in the sands of possibility

Ten years ago, historians were convinced that history was dominated by classes and groupings that pursued their interests as if individuals were no more than passive stage props in an autonomous historic process.

It was, they thought, as if individuals were bedded in overpowering structures and acting under immutable laws that determined the course of events.

It was a time when historians had lost their belief in the uniqueness of events and when they bowed to sociology.

Today, they are bursting with self-assurance. As one of the delegates to the 34th German historians' Congress in Münster remarked, they are almost frightened by it.

The theme of the congress now at least allowed the question as to whether there might not be such a thing as crossroads in history after all — crossroads at which the acting personages could opt for one or the other route. It also allowed the question about to the extent to which personalities can influence history — another thing that would have been unthinkable ten years ago.

Naturally, this does not mark a return to the concept of men making history. It marks a synthesis of a structural and individualistic interpretation of history.

But today's historians once more concede that individuals have a hand in shaping historic scopes of action, as shown by Rudolf Vierhaus, of Göttingen, in his opening address.

The question is: how are the weights distributed? The individual's, the group's and the party's political will affect such political conditions as the general system of values, rivalling political wills, foreign policy and economic exigencies and existing laws.

When the historians association formulated the theme for this year's congress, it could hardly have imagined how topical it would be.

The immediate future will be a prime example of the true extent of historic scopes of action, demonstrated by a Bonn government that considers the course of the past 13 years as wrong and is trying to rechart it.

The question now is, will the mere will be enough to break down existing structures that seem to point up a one-way street?

In summing up what was said in the discussion on the scope of action in the past 50 years, one can only arrive at the conclusion that there was none and that everything remained unchanged.

Not only was any scope of action extremely narrow but those who acted at the time were in fact unaware of it. But all this becomes evident only in retrospect.

Example number one: the scope of action of social democratic policy at the end of World War I. Germany, Austria and Russia were presented as examples at the congress. All three of them are countries in which the revolutionary freedom drive ultimately ended in fascist or communist tyranny. What did the politicians do wrong and could it have worked out differently?

In Russia, Dietrich Geyer of Tübingen explained, it was only the Bolsheviks who promised to fulfil the people's demand for peace, bread, land and self-determination. As a result, they won.

In Germany — and this has been said time and again — the revolution foundered on the fragmentation of socialist forces and the alliance with the old general staff. But then, it also foundered in Austria where none of these mistakes were made.

It is true that neither of these two countries seriously pursued the nationalisation of means of production and that they continued to be administered by the old elite.

The point is that neither of their social democratic governments saw the general scope of action for a socialist restructuring of society. They were too frightened of civil war and pressure from enemy powers plus the disastrous supply situation, dramatic drop in industrial output and general economic woes.

To try and reconstruct the scope of action from today's vantage point would fall short of historic truthfulness (and justice).

Example number two: pressing needs and scope of action in the economic and social policy of the time between the wars. The main problem here was the Great Depression that started in America in 1929/30 and marked the watershed between Europe's pre- and post-war period. It also played a major role in promoting fascism in Europe.

What could have been done to prevent this? Was there any scope of action?

The answer to this is of topical interest. What makes it difficult to arrive at an answer, however, is that historians have to this day been unable to agree on the causes of the crisis. There are three rather irreconcilable theories.

The only point of agreement is that the crisis originated in the United States, From there on the experts disagree, as Volker Hentschel of Mainz showed.

The monetarists say that the money supply did not keep pace with the growth in the GNP.

The supporters of demand-side theories say that investment exceeded demand or that changes in the national income resulted in a decline of demand.

The third school of thought blames the crisis on breakdowns in the international economic and monetary system caused by tariffs, foreign exchange regulations, import quotas, export dumping and the lack of an institution that would have ensured international monetary balance.

Considering that even today we are divided on the roots of the crisis, how can we expect the politicians of the time between the wars to have recognised them — especially in view of the fact that they had no previous experience of a crisis of that magnitude?

As Hentschel sees it, the crisis was inevitable. It could only have been resolved on an international plane, which was outside the scope of politics at that time.

Two possible instruments with which to overcome the crisis were then unthinkable: departure from gold standards and deficit spending.

In the end, it was immaterial whether the crisis was combated politically (as in France and America) or whether the prevailing attitude was that of political abstinence.

This naturally also shakes the belief that it was sound policy that b about the long post-World War II nomic boom. It also raises doubt the possibilities of today's eco policy, despite the fact that its ments have been improved.

Example number three: was the War inevitable? Scope of action i East-West conflict between 1945 1950.

This subject was dealt with in a discussion between Andreas Hill (Cologne), Alexander Fischer (F furt), Geir Lundestad (Tromso, way) and the political scientist W Link (Trier).

The three historians were agreed Cold War was inevitable. Stalin w a buffer zone of Soviet-domi states on his Western borders and rica was only too willing to reco that zone as a Soviet sphere of in (along the lines of Finland and choslovakia until 1938).

Stalin's long-term objective w exercise his hegemony over We Europe. But the Americans decide maintain their presence there.

The Soviet-American alliance held together only by the fight ag Hitler. Once Hitler was defeated, ideological conflict broke out again.

Only Link made some critical marks. Though he, too, considered East-West conflict inevitable, the q tion for him was whether it had to into a Cold War.

He suggested that America sh formally have recognised East Europe as a Soviet zone of influe and that it should have shared its clear know-how with Moscow at a when this was still an American m poly.

*Ekkehard B*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 Oktob

# The changing demands of German society

**Helga Pross, *Was ist heute deutsch? Wertorientierung in der Bundesrepublik;* Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek 1982, 158 pp, DM24.**

There is evidently a close link between political helplessness and intellectual busyness. What other explanation could there be for the tide of books on the Germans and their frame of mind at the very moment when the Germans have become uncertain about themselves and are trying to pinpoint their political position?

Questions as to German nationhood and the raison d'etre of the Federal Republic of Germany and as to where the Germans are headed are being raised and then filed again — unanswered.

Day-to-day politics with its tiny steps and tactical finesses dominates — that is, until the discomfort over German self-definition breaks out again.

There can be no doubt that we are once more confronted with the question as to what makes the Germans unique. This might seem anachronistic in view of the internationalisation of politics, world-wide cultural exchanges and trans-national challenges — but perhaps the very lack of contour of international problems has been a contributing factor in the need for a satisfactory explanation of the collective identity of the Germans.

Such a need seems to exist abroad as well as a result of growing irritation over the uncertainties regarding the Federal Republic of Germany's position — be it out of fear of a new nationalism or be it out of a sceptical mistrust of n unnaturally underdeveloped patriotism on the part of the Germans.

The frequently embarrassing see-sawing in Germany's self-depiction between masochistic modesty and a pretentious paymaster attitude is evidently confusing both at home and abroad.

So are we perhaps a society full of intellectual unrest trying to find itself? If the results of empirical sociology are anything to go by, we are not.

Sociologist Helge Pross has presented an interesting and stimulating summary in her book *Was ist heute deutsch? Wertorientierungen in der Bundesrepublik* (What is German Today? Value Orientations in the Federal Republic).

The author examines what most West Germans of today have in common with most of former eras and where they differ.

She concludes that, despite the importance attached to order and security, the old virtues such as discipline, obedience and subjugation are no longer paramount.

Today's Germans want private independence and want to pursue their personal interests.

So far as the political system as a whole is concerned, the Germans approve of democracy but are not passionately in favour of the present political order.

They have come to terms with it and are trying to realise their personal interests and engage in a pragmatic consensus.

All this has been nicely illustrated by the author; but the reader familiar with the issues involved is confronted repetitions of well known facts.

The equanimity with which Germans cope with their everyday cial lives is contrasted with the pr ing diagnosis of alleged severe Ger neuroses.

Yet it is possible that day-to-day p tics in Germany has disproved the ses of the ungovernability and legiti cy crisis of the country for the very son that the pragmatic consensus exists and the many-faceted iden points are more in keeping with the gencies of a modern industrial soc than are fundamentalist dreams.

Even so, intellectual unrest rema There is a longing for a clear natio identity, the syndrome of missed his ric opportunities and continued hop a brilliant idea that would ease all p tical problems.

The intellectual distance from political system, the romantic prom as a compensation for political fric — all this could revitalise the ques nable stock of traditions in German tory.

Romantic relapses do not annou themselves on the surface of politi systems but in subterranean changes subjective attitudes.

As a result, Helga Pross' quest "What is German today?" and her c centration on continuity and change values seem important as warn signals against a relapse into the old ché of "typically German."

The Federal Republic of Germany road to itself seems longer than m people think. As a result, the questi as to the identity of the Germans continue to be posed for some time.

*Werner Weidenfeld*

(Die Zeit, 8 October 1

BEHAVIOUR

# Attitudes change towards suicide: blame put on pressures of society

cide has for centuries been viewed s a heinous crime. Suicides have relentlessly regarded with hatred contempt by Church, state and opinion.

nking along these lines is changt has lately been the subject of in scientific research.

iciology is a scientific discipline ich there has been any amount of published since 1897, when sociot Emile Durkheim published his on the subject.

urkheim pointed out that suicide not an unpardonable moral off. It was closely connected with the conditions in which people lived.

hers have suggested that the suidespair and hardship were the re mental illness and led to emotiostriction and the reversion of agsion to oneself.

octors, psychoanalysts, psycholo and sociologists strongly disagree whether suicidal behaviour signifies al illness or is due to personality, sposition, family and social fac-

entific concern with suicide has accompanied by attempts to pre. Advice bureaus and suicide preion centres staffed by lay and prosional experts of various kinds have launched in Europe and America. 1960 the International Association uicide Prophylaxis was set up in Vienna. In Germany the Suicide Prevention Association has been at work for 10 years.

Suicide as a Sickness of Society was the subject of its annual conference held this year in Munich.

Occasional headlines apart, Munich sociologist Kurt Weis said, next to noone was unduly worried by the frequency of suicide.

Yet about 14,000 people a year commit suicide in the Federal Republic of Germany, or more than die in traffic accidents.

Suicide is increasingly widespread among the over-65s, but a large number of young people also take their own lives. Only accidents are a more frequent cause of death among young people.

Besides, official statistics account for only a fraction of attempted and successful suicides. The number that never come to light is very high.

Lack of interest in these facts was due, Herr Weis said, to suicide still being taboo. It was seen as behaviour detrimental to the prestige of the suicide and his next of kin.

It had social, legal and, at times, ecclesiastical repercussions. We also lived in an age hostile to the failure, the loser and the victim.

In a society geared to success interest and prestige were enjoyed by the healthy individual, by sport and beauty and not by the hard luck story, the failure and the person who was at his wits' end.

This was particularly apparent in the way old people were treated. They are the most suicide-prone social category; they also enjoy least prestige.

As for suicide among the young, Herr Weis felt it was due not only to pressure to perform and to university entrance restrictions.

Germany, he said, was a country in which society was particularly hostile toward children and young people. As a result, isolation and languor had increased among the young.

Child psychiatrist Bernt Stober outlined the results of a survey by the Central Mental Health Institute, Mannheim, on the mental and social circumstances favourable toward suicide among children and young people.

Suicide by a child might not be comparable with suicide by a young adult aged 17. Children often acted without thinking and had no idea how final death was.

But there was no clear dividing line between spur-of-the-moment suicide and the deed planned in advance, and in comparison with older people there were a surprising number of suicide attempts.

Potential suicides among children and young people are often denoted as behaviourally disturbed or aggressive without anyone realising *how they really feel*.

There is clearly no uniform code of behaviour for suicides, but the Mannheim survey has shown that children who grow up in children's homes or broken family homes are particularly suicide-prone.

This is likewise true of children who are maltreated and of young people suffering from mental or physical handicaps that result in them being treated as outsiders.

They may also feel excessive demands are constantly made of them at school and by their families.

Too great importance is probably attached to school as the sole cause. An additional factor is that children are so made to feel, by their parents, that success is what counts that they lose all sense of their own worth if they turn out to be scholastic failures.

The survey indicates that it is immaterial whether or not the mother goes out to work. The crucial factor is the atmosphere in which the children grow up.

The loss of a loved one due to death or separation can trigger mental crises of the gravest kind.

Another category of potential suicides is young people who have had their first brush with the law, often only in connection with a minor offence.

There must also be no underestimating the lemming effect. Suicides often prompt others to follow suit.

"It is high time we set aside fairy-tale views of childhood," said Viennese psychiatrist Erwin Ringel, founder and Hon. Pres. of the International Association for Suicide Prophylaxis.

"In reality irresponsible behaviour by people drives the weak to despair, suppressing joie de vivre in early childhood, leaving us with schoolchildren who are largely unsuited for socialisation.

"Overwhelmed by neurotic symptoms, some already set foot on the road leading to the later meaningless protest of suicide."

There are a number of old chestnuts, stubbornly mistaken views, about suicide. One is that people who talk about it don't do it, another that someone who has attempted suicide once will not try again.

Every suicide bid must first be taken seriously, Herr Ringel stressed. It must be seen in deadly earnest. Eight suicides out of 10 give notice of their intention.

"We cannot escape the fact that nearly everyone who commits suicide says so beforehand and that there is no-one who stops them.

"There could hardly be a more devastating symptom of disturbance in human relations than this," he said.

In Britain the Samaritans had set up a network of advice bureaus all over the country at which over 20,000 lay helpers hold out a lifeline 24 hours a day.

That, he said, was a really great achievement and an example others ought to follow.

*Renate Jäckle*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 October 1982)



# Sex and old age are not a contradiction

Sex in old age is ignored and treated as though it didn't exist. But Max Planck research scientists have shown it does.

Münster University research scientists have tested 23 grandfathers aged from 60 to 89, comparing them with 20 fathers aged 23 to 33.

Nine grandfathers were found to have sex at least once a week and 10 at least once every four weeks.

What is more, the Münster medics found that men in good health retained their reproductive capacity until a ripe old age.

Yet old people's need of love and tenderness is often either disregarded or not taken seriously.

The facts of life are often against them too. One is that over half the women aged over 65 are widows. There are 2.68 million of them, as against 709,000 single men in their age group.

Thirty-one per cent of women aged 65 and over are married, as against 76 per cent of men, and wives often have little or no understanding of their husbands' sexual needs.

And the Protestant Church has given thought to sex problems that arise for the aged in old people's homes.

Relations between the sexes in old people's homes are undoubtedly a problem, and a Swiss psychologist, Hans-Dieter Schneider, has published an article on the subject in a Protestant Church magazine, *Evangelische Impulse*.

The magazine is put out by a care for the aged unit of the social service organisation of the Protestant Church in Germany.

"Sexual intercourse may play a less important part in old age than earlier in life," he writes, "but it keenly interests some."

There ought to be no problems for

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## ■ EDUCATION

# New minister wants to tackle problems head on

Bonn's new Education Minister, Dorothee Wilms, intends being more than merely a statutory woman in Chancellor Kohl's Cabinet.

Education policy is essentially a *Land* affair, but unemployment among school leavers, a shortage of apprenticeships and overcrowding at universities are federal problems as well.

The tide of people heading for the universities rolls on: some 90,000 have enrolled for the winter semester of 1982-83.

But tens of thousands cannot study what they want to. All they can do is choose another field or wait.

Frau Wilms is working on a solution. To help her she can refer to a report commissioned by the former government which said that present-day students are not as bad as they are made out to be and that the universities are doing better than they are sometimes accused of.

It is a report that contradicts several widespread prejudices. For example:

- That students don't want to work.
- That universities are not educating.
- That the vast cost of the university system could be better used elsewhere.

The trouble is, it is difficult to measure university education qualitatively. Because of this many critics have made the mistake of judging by quantity.

For many pupils, going to university is a necessary extension to secondary education. They can learn, and it is the cheapest way of further training after high school.

There are more than 1m university students in West Germany and West Berlin. That is expected to increase by 300,000 by the end of the 1980s.

According to the report, the universities have been coping with the sheer numbers. They are efficient when compared with universities in other countries.

Graduation is 90 per cent, which shows, says the report, that students are willing to learn. Examination failure rate is 7.5 per cent across the board, although this varies from subject to subject. More law and business administration students fail; more medical students succeed.

Eighteen per cent of students change subjects during their studies, mostly in the first and second semesters. This figure is considered tolerable by the universities.

Three quarters of all graduates would go through their course all over again if they had the chance. But only 45 per cent thought that their studies would help their careers. This seems to indicate that universities should be more practical.

Average university education is five and a half years. If enrolment keeps on rising, this time might have to be shortened, says the report.

But politicians must not treat the university as a stepchild because the faculty alone is not up to the task.

Though there are still some university places available — varying from region to region and subject to subject — there will not be enough unless the universities are flexible.

In any event, the universities need support from the politicians if they are to cope. This means the politicians must approve temporary overcrowding and, that means, of course, more money.

Cash demands are bound to be resisted by Finance Ministers. As things stand, there are some tough times ahead. If they are to weather their problems, deep-rooted prejudices will have to be done away with and faculties and student bodies will have to be encouraged.

In view of mass unemployment, many of those tho were born in the high birth-rate years have no alternative but to go to university — even if only a few find top jobs after graduation.

On assuming office, Frau Wilms said: "There is a widespread desire for higher education. Education is seen as an insurance for the future, and we must therefore try to achieve the best we can in tzerms of individual promotion and social justice despite shortage of funds.

"We must bring about a balance within the high birth-rate generation — a balance between those who study further and those who do not. We must also achieve a balance between those who are still studying at university and those who will want to enrol. What we need is a contract between the generations in terms of educational policy."

What matters now — not only for those immediately concerned, but for society as a whole — is to see how the politicians will reconcile educational ideals with realities.

*Wolfgang Rieger*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 17 October 1982)



**Chewing it over**

**A Bremen school dentist, Wolfgang Schlempp, uses giant dentures and a h[...] toothbrush to demonstrate to schoolchildren why it is important to brush tee[...] video film of the lesson then is used to hammer the point home. Dr Schlemp[...] pictured using his video camera.** (Photo: Ce[...])

# School life is 'catastrophic' charges pressure group

Bremer Nachrichten

School life in Germany is described as "catastrophic" by the Hanover-based society for the protection of children (DKSB).

The secretary of the organisation, Walter Wilken, says a generation is growing up that is "psychologically unstable and pumped full of theoretical knowledge unrelated to practical life."

Besides "impractical, useless swotted knowledge," pupils have to put up with overcrowded school buses, unsuitable classroom desks and breaks that are too short.

He quotes a 1977 study made in the Saar which showed extensive psychological damage among the nation's school pupils — there are about 9m. He said the situation had become worse.

Sixty per cent of the children were afraid of tests, half had no appetite for breakfast and 40 per cent said there was much at school that frightened them.

They suffered physically because they had to sit still for hours and because there were only three hours of physical training a week.

Some 60 per cent of the children had deportment problems, one-third were overweight and close to 25 per cent had cardiovascular problems.

"The earnest commitment of educational policy makers of the 1960s turned into a depression in the fi[...] education, and school has lost [...] humanity," says the DKSB.

More and more schools are trying [...] save the cost of school buses, for[...] children "to use public transport or [...] cle to and from school with all the d[...] gers that go with it."

The average workday (instructio[...] homework and commuting) now w[...] nine and in some cases 12 hours.

Education Ministers were planning [...] do away with 8,000 to 10,000 teachi[...] posts "at a time when the effects of th[...] Pill would enable us to have classes [...] an acceptable size," says Wilken.

A DKSB spokesman has put forw[...] several demands that would enable o[...] schools "to do justice to their soc[...] function."

"The school must orientate itself [...] the world as it is and the students [...] they really are."

Schools should have a maximum [...] 500 students and classes should have [...] more than 25.

Like in most Western countrie[...] teaching aids should be such as to e[...] ble the student to become more per[...] nally involved. This could inclu[...] working models of machines in physi[...] or a garden and animals in biology.

He called for a better teaching en[...] ronment with more "gaiety a[...] equanimity." School must be taken [...] riously it must not be seen as an end [...] itseld, as has been the case up to n[...] he said.

The school should "educate [...] whole person by instilling commun[...] spirit."

The society also calls for [...] "positive attitude towards failure — [...] attitude that would encourage bet[...] performance and do away with the fe[...] of failure."

*dpa*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 13 October 19[...])

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married couples in old people's homes, but what are the unmarried, who are in the majority, to do?

Marry, says Schneider. "We have examples of aged newly-weds who gained a new lease of life because being there for each other in wedlock gave their lives fresh meaning."

Yet next of kin often frown on the idea. What, marry at their age? It's not done, is it?

Couples and weddings at old people's homes are the exception. Ought the no-longer-weds to go in for extramarital sex and expose themselves to the ridicule of others?

"Extra-marital sex can only be a source of pleasure to people in this position," the Zurich psychologist writes, "if their surroundings, the management, staff and fellow-inmates, accept it and they themselves are convinced they are doing the right thing."

At the same time he feels sex in old age ought not to be overrated. Intercourse is steddily less important than tenderness and affection as part of life.

But when someone who lives in an old people's home touches an arm or thigh of his nurse or involves nurses in erotic conversations his unsatisfied sex requirements must be taken into consideration.

Herr Schneider suggests conversation and games with young visitors, including physical contact as a means of partly satisfying such latent desires.

Young people will come to realise that old folk in homes are not asexual. They may come to reassess their views of what life will be like for them in old age.

Maybe the article will trigger a rethink. Flops such as the course arranged in Hannover in May 1978 will then not recur.

A course on sexuality in old age was held by the city's municipal care for the aged department. Keen interest was shown by old people but only a handful of 800 social workers in old folk's clubs to whom invitations had been sent took the trouble to attend.

*Günter Dehn*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 10 October 1982)



## [...]OCIETY

# [...]rganisation helps victims of violent crime

[...]nkfurter Allgemeine

[...] membership of an organisation [...]med in 1977 to help victims of [...] crime has increased from an in[...] [...] to 15,500.

[...]ser *Ring* (White Ring) has spent [...] in five years. Of this, DM7.7m [...] to help 4,000 victims or rela[...] of victims of violent crime. Fi[...] comes mainly from donations. A [...] amount comes from court fines.

[...] 17 founders of the organisation [...] satisfied with their efforts, al[...] they have reason to be. They [...] that the financial and spiritual [...] given by 140 branches and 450 [...] workers is no more than a [...] in the ocean.

[...] million crimes a year are com[...] in the Federal Republic. Mater[...] damage is an estimated DM120bn.

[...]dreds of thousands of victims, [...]larly the direct or indirect vic[...] of murder, manslaughter, robbery, [...] and battery and rape, need look[...] after and financial and legal assis[...] without red tape. State compensa[...] under new legislation is inade[...]

[...] Ring Chairman Eduard Zim[...]mann deplored this at the 5th an[...] meeting of the organisation in [...]ser.

[...] again called for an amendment of [...]mpensation Act, under the terms [...] which Bonn and the states paid out a [...] DM12.8m to crime victims last [...]

[...]ver Saxony's Interior Minister Eg[...] Möcklinghoff and the parliamenta[...] secretary at the Bonn Interior [...]istry, Horst Waffenschmidt, agreed [...] the Compensation Act was inade[...] and full of loopholes.

[...] Act provides for permanent [...] only if the crime victim has [...] disabled and his earning capacity [...]ished by at least 25 per cent. [...]ere is no compensation for victims of crime before 16 May 1976 when the Act came into force.

There is also no cover for those who have suffered material damage, those who were victims of crimes abroad and foreigners who have for years been living and working in this country — unless there is reciprocal agreement to that effect with their home country.

Zimmermann stressed at the meeting that all parties represented in the Bundestag had promised an amendment of the Compensation Act.

The White Ring must now take the government parties by their word and insist that the promise be honoured.

It would be wrong, he said, to speak of the financial burdens that would result from an amendment of the Act. Instead, we can only speak of old debts that have never been settled.

In purely financial terms, crime victims have made a huge advance payment by the very fact of becoming victims. In other words, those who have been spared this fate are their debtors.

Zimmermann called for a clause that would make it obligatory for government authorities to do more in safeguarding the interests of crime victims.

He conceded that there have been improvements in this respect in the police, the judiciary and welfare departments. But by the same token politicians paid only lip service to the necessity of looking after the victims of crime.

White Ring now hopes that the change of government in Bonn will bring about new priorities in the equalisation of burdens between victims and non-victims and more understanding and less added discrimination for victims. It is also hoped that protection from crime will improve.

Waffenschmidt said that even today the victims of crime are victimised a second time because nobody cares about them and even the hope of material compensation frequently fails to materialise.

We must not only understand the problems of the criminal but those of the victim as well.

It was one of the merits of the White Ring to have made this clear.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 October 1982)

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[...] Grudge in the Ba-Shang Moun[...] [...] 1980, it sought to do so but car[...] [...]ttle conviction.

[...] plots are emotionally exag[...]ed, almost kitschy tales of separa[...] families reunited under tear-jerking [...]stances in the course of political [...]lisation in 1976.

[...]ybe The Geologist, 1979, and The Story of AH Q, 1981, mark a fresh [...] Public heroism is reduced to pri[...] life, and people, with their short[...]ings, are given most attention, while political background, although still [...] no longer predominates.

[...] contemporary Chinese films are [...]moved from the ivory tower and [...]placent intellectual experiment. Gi[...] further stylistic and thematic de[...]pment, the result could be enligh[...]ent in the best and most positive [...] of the term.

[...] might learn both what people are [...] and what they might be like but [...]n't yet.

*Alfred Huber*

(Mannheimer Morgen, 11 October 1982)



**Eduard Zimmermann ... seeks changes in compensation laws.** (Photo: ZDF)

# Bitter pill for medical students

The examination papers of 183 Würzburg, Bavaria, medical students have been lost. They disappeared somewhere between Würzburg and Mainz, where they were to have been marked.

Eighty of the students have now sued the state of Bavaria. Their lawyer says that all papers (they are preliminary examinations) should be declared successful.

He says the students should at least be allowed through to the next examination stage without precondition.

The students, by handing over the papers, had "placed them in the exclusive care of the defendent (the state of Bavaria) and thus have fully complied with their exam obligations. The onus to prove examination failure therefore rests with the defendant."

Bavaria's Interior Minister, Herr Gerold Tandler, said he had "all sympathy" with the students, but the only legal solution was for them to sit the examination again.

The national failure rate is 22 per cent, so the Interior Ministry says that, arithmetically, 40 of the Würzburg students have failed.

The lawyer reserved the right to file damages claims for his clients if the exams are not accepted.

He charged government officials with having been negligent, as evidenced by their "inability to find the exam papers."

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 October 1982)

# Constitutional hurdle

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would have vote. Meanwhile, the existing cabinet would act as a caretaker government.

If no candidate gets an absolute majority during these two weeks, the members of the Bundestag must vote again. Now the candidate with the most votes would be considered voted in.

It would now be up to the president to either appoint the elected Chancellor or to dissolve parliament.

The complicated procedure under Article 63 presupposes firm agreements between all political parties represented in the Bundestag. At least one of the votings on a chancellorship candidate would then be no more than a farce. And it is hard to imagine that the president would lend himself to a procedure that would harm the image of his own office.

There now still remains a third approach: the chancellor could ask for a confidence vote under Article 68 of the Constitution. If the vote — as desired by the government — is negative the president would know that the Chancellor has the majority for a positive vote of confidence; but even so he would have no choice but to go along with the political will of the parliamentary majority. Such a rigged vote of no confidence is certainly not quite above board in terms of the Constitution, but it would be less of an evil than forgoing national elections altogether.

The promised elections in March must take place if our democratic institutions are to remain credible; and Article 68 offers a reasonably constitutional way out. It is the way Kohl is likely to opt for.

*Bettina Wieselmann*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 20 October 1982)

# Deadly dilemma over drug dealer's future

A Singapore Chinese is fighting to stay in jail in Remscheid, in the Ruhr, where he has spent six years of an eight-year sentence for dealing in heroin.

Chee Seng, 37, is due for parole, but if he gets it he faces deportation. That may mean his death.

The Singapore authorities are likely to prosecute him again, despite the fact that the offence was committed in Europa. Anybody caught with more than 15 grammes of heroin faces the death penalty in Singapore. Chee was carrying 9.5 kilos when police arrested him on a train near the Dutch-German border six years ago.

A Bonn diplomatic legal adviser in Singapore says the fact that Chee has been sentenced in Germany is unlikely to stop Singapore from prosecuting him again.

The Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe has now issued a temporary order preventing Chee's deportation, and German authorities wrestle with the problem.

The aliens authority in Remscheid wants to deport Chee. It is legal. A Constitutional Court ruling in 1964 decided that deporting a foreigner, even when it might result in a death sentence, does not contradict German law.

But the head of the Remscheid authority, Wilhelm Ellerbrake, has tried to get round the problem.

He has suggested to Chee that he go to another country instead of Singapore. The problem was, what country



wants to take a convicted drug trafficker?

Then the Bonn Foreign Office suggested that Chee could "escape" during a stopover in Malaysia. However, Chee thought that the Malaysians might deport him to Singapore.

Regardless whether they are threatened by the death sentence at home, foreigners who have committed serious crimes are deported on being released from prison.

In the 1964 ruling, the Constitutional Court justices argued that the fact that Germany has done away with the death penalty was binding for Germany only.

There is nothing in the German Constitution about the death penalty abroad. If there were any such provision it would amount to interference in the laws of another country.

The court was also worried about the consequences if it ruled differently: If the possibility of a death sentence at home were to prevent an ex-convict from being deported Germany would be stuck with the worst of foreign criminals while foreigners who committed less serious crimes could be deported. The judges felt that this would have been wrong.

As a result of this ruling, Chee's applications to the Administrative Court in Düsseldorf were unsuccessful. So was his appeal to the state assembly petition committee which threw out his case. Amnesty International has also been unable to help.

*Jürgen Wessalowski*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 11 October 1982)